The Christian Century

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

The Case for World Government
By Harold C. Urey

Federal Aid Minus Jokers
An Editorial

Thoreau's Bombshell
By John Haynes Holmes

'God's Grace and Man's Hope'
Review by W. E. Garrison

JUNE 29, 1949

In This Issue

HAROLD C. UREY

has been one of the world's most famous scientists ever since he was awarded the Nobel prize in 1934 for his discovery of heavy water. Throughout the experimentation which culminated in the manufacture of the first atomic bomb, Dr. Urey was one of the little group of about half a dozen scientists who were the directing minds of that history-making project. Since the dropping of the A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki he has devoted himself to efforts of many kinds to protect mankind from the destruction of an atomic war. The list of Dr. Urey's honors, academic and scientific, as compiled in *Who's Who*, is too long to print here. It includes degrees from the University of California, Columbia, Princeton and Oxford, the Willard Gibbs medal of the American Chemical Society, the Davy medal of the Royal Society of London and the Franklin medal of the Franklin Institute. Dr. Urey is professor of chemistry at the University of Chicago.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

has been pastor of the Community Church of New York (formerly the Church of the Messiah) since 1907. He is retiring from the active ministry next November on his 70th birthday. Throughout his career he has been a dauntless champion of civil rights, temperance, the Negro and other colored peoples, the application of Christianity to social issues. He has been chairman of the board of the American Civil Liberties Union for the past 10 years. Special significance attaches to his article in this issue because of his long and intimate friendship with Mahatma Gandhi.

JOYCE REASON

of the editorial staff of the London Missionary Society, continues to supply our newsletter from England while Cecil Northcott is in this country.

WINBURN T. THOMAS

a secretary of the World Student Christian Federation, at present stationed in Bangkok, Siam, reports on a visit to the Philippines.

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Calendar of Coming Events

June 1-30. Displaced Persons Campaign Action Month (Church World Service).
June 27-July 5. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.
June 27-July 5. A.F.S.C. High School Institute of International Relations, Harvard, Mass.
June 27-July 9. 6th Annual Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, Nashville.
June 27-July 15. Westminster Theological Seminary School for Town and Country Ministers, Westminster, Md.
June 27-July 28. Church and Economic Life Summer Course for Ministers (Federal Council and University of Chicago), Chicago.
June 27-Aug. 6. Protestant Radio Commission-N.B.C. Summer Radio Institute, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
June 28-July 1. National Council of Community Churches, Berea, Ky.; theme: "Amsterdam in the Local Community."
June 28-July 6. World Council of Churches Study Department Conference, Oxford, England.
June 29-July 5. World Council of Churches Commissions on Evangelism and the Bible, Oxford.
June 29-July 5. Northern Baptist Convention National Laymen's Conference, Green Lake, Wis.
July 1-10. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Whittier, Calif.
July 1-31. Interracial Workshop (F.O.R. and C.O.R.E.), Washington, D. C.
July 2-4. Joint Meeting, Executives and Delegates, World Council of Churches and International Missionary Council, Oxford.
July 2-16. Summer Institute for Social Progress, Wellesley, Mass.
July 3-31. School of Community Living (four one-week sessions), Yellow Springs, Ohio.
July 4-6. World Council of Churches Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, Oxford.
July 4-13. International Lutheran Institute, conducted by Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, Bad Boll, Germany; theme: "The Lutheran Doctrine According to Scripture and Confessions."
July 4-25. Ecumenical Institute Study Course for Theological Students, Celigny, Switzerland.
July 5-10. 40th International Christian Endeavor Convention, Toronto.
July 5-11. Northern Baptist Convention Stewardship Conference; Business and Professional Women's Conference, Green Green Lake, Wis.
July 5-13. Missionary Conference, East Northfield, Mass.
July 5-15. Federal Council Department of Evangelism Ashram, Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y.
July 6-8. World Council of Churches Executive Committee, Chichester, England.
July 6-22. Duke University Pastors' School, Durham, N. C.
July 9-15. World Council of Churches Central Committee, Chichester.
July 10-16. United Christian Youth Movement Regional Conference, Camp Crucis, Tex.
July 10-17. New Jerusalem, Swedenborgian, 126th General Convention, San Francisco-Los Angeles.
July 10-23. Annual Industrial Relations Institute for Church Leaders, Madison, Wis.
July 11-21. Princeton Institute of Theology, Princeton, N. J.
July 11-29. Union Theological Seminary Conference for Ministers and Religious Leaders, New York city.
July 13-20. Missionary Conference, Silver Bay, Lake George, N. Y.
July 15-30. World Council of Churches Commission on Faith and Order, Chichester.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The Christian Century

UNDENOMINATIONAL

VOLUME LXVI CHICAGO, JUNE 29, 1949 NUMBER 26

EDITORIAL

GILBERT DARLINGTON, treasurer of the American Bible Society, gave the annual meeting of the United Bible Societies something to think about when he told of the measures already taken to preserve the translations published by the American society in the event of an atomic war. According to Religious News Service, which reports the incident, Dr. Darlington told a luncheon that copies of all the important editions of the Bible and Scripture portions put out by his organization have been deposited in three places—the University of Colorado at Boulder, Dartmouth College at Hanover, New Hampshire, and in New York city. If an atomic attack pulverizes one of these sanctuaries, the Bible society hopes that the others—or at least one of the others—will be spared. This is ordinary prudence, and we are glad to learn that the officers of the American Bible Society are showing it. Perhaps their example will lead to similar measures by the other leading Bible-distributing bodies. Yet while one applauds this display of foresight, a question persists: If atomic war sweeps the earth, *can* the Bible survive its hellish destruction? The words of the Bible will survive if man survives. Its truth will not be diminished, but again proved, by the conflict. But how much of the authority and spirit of the Bible can live in men who pass through such a moral cataclysm as an atomic world war is bound to be?

Can the Bible Survive Atomic War?

Paris Conference Ends With Agreements

RADIO ANNOUNCEMENT of the successful conclusion of the foreign ministers' conference at Paris comes just at press time. Extended comment must therefore be postponed until next week, by which time it will be possible to read and analyze the official communique summarizing the conference's achievements. Meanwhile, the reflective citizen will be struck by the contrast between daily newspaper reports which told of little but discord and predicted failure, and the actual outcome. Perhaps those pessimistic reports sent out while the conference was still in progress were justified. The Russians long ago proved to be hard bargainers, and at Paris they held a superior bargaining position with respect to at least two of the major issues—the Berlin blockade and the future of navigation on the Danube. However, the way in which these conferences are conducted, with their only news outlets through statements made to the press by official spokesmen, insures that the negotiators will use the press as a medium to influence the bargaining process. Under such circumstances, it is always wise to suspend judgment until the conference ends. Then it can be assessed by its outcome. In this case, weeks of pessimistic predictions are now followed by the three most hopeful agreements to be reached with the Russians since the end of the war. These provide for an Austrian peace treaty, a guaranteed access by the West to Berlin (in this regard the conference succeeded in undoing some of the mischief wrought by heedlessness at Potsdam), and a resumption of east-west trade in Germany. Of the three, the third is the more important. It may be said that Russia had to gain that trade resumption out of the conference in order to restore the economy of east Germany and to satisfy her satellites along the east German border. True enough. But the Western allies also had to get east-west trade moving again if the Marshall plan was to have the slightest chance of even approaching its goals by 1952.

Reaction Sets in Against Capital Hysterics

ONLY two things of importance happened during the week of investigation of the Atomic Energy Commission which ended on June 20. First, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, speaking for the advisory group of scientists which, under the law, keeps constant check on the operations of the AEC, gave the most sweeping endorsement conceivable when called before the joint congressional committee. Instead of the "incredible mismanagement" charged by Senator Hickenlooper, Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he and his scientific associates believe that the AEC has produced "about as good a result as you can get." In its formal statement the advisory commission said: "Better weapons have been developed and tested, the production of materials has been substantially increased and assured, and a sound and forward-looking program has been established." The second and more important development took place outside the investigation chamber. It was the sudden sweep across the country of a belief that this attack on the AEC, and on its chairman, David E. Lilienthal, has been produced by the anti-Soviet jitters afflicting the nation's capital, seized on in this instance for partisan purposes. As newspaper reports, although generally anything but slanted in Mr. Lilienthal's favor, revealed how weak a basis Senator Hickenlooper had for the wild charges with which he launched the investigation, and as the votes in the joint

committee on procedural matters followed a rigidly partisan pattern, the country suddenly began to grow ashamed of the whole spectacle. As it grew ashamed, it grew resentful. Mr. Lippmann wrote a (for him) fiery column telling Congress, in effect, to act its age. President Truman compared the current state of mind to that which produced the alien and sedition acts at the time of the French Revolution. Congressmen with ears to the ground started to suspect that those who had hoped to make partisan political medicine out of as vital an issue as the control of atomic energy would presently find themselves facing the wrath of an aroused American public.

Justice Department to Ease Up on C.O.'s

NINE YEARS after the enactment of peacetime conscription, the department of justice has ordered U. S. district attorneys to register conscientious objectors who refuse to do it themselves. If this order is carried out, it will put an end to the disgraceful prosecution and imprisonment of religious objectors long after the draft itself is dead. The department acted on May 26 after it had been urged by the American Civil Liberties Union to stop such prosecutions, but not until it had placed about 40 young men, many of them Quakers, behind bars for refusing to register under the latest draft act. The circular sent out by Peyton Ford, assistant to Attorney General Clark, called attention to a provision in the Selective Service regulations which said that "if such a man is unable or refuses to fill out any form in the manner required, such form shall be filled out by a member or clerk of a local board or superintendent, warden or other law enforcement official, from information gained by interviewing the delinquent and from other sources." This sentence has been in the regulations all the time; so the effect of the recent order is to tell district attorneys to apply it and use a little mercy and common sense. The order is made applicable to pending cases, "except in the most willful instances." This leaves a loophole for the prosecution of young men whom the attorneys, at their own discretion, choose to designate as "willful." The exception is not well taken, and will probably still afford a basis for vindictive action. We hope that the American Civil Liberties Union will add to its notable services to democratic freedom and get the department to revise its directive by eliminating this loophole.

Czech Church Crisis More Severe

NOTHING that has happened since last week's Century went to press indicates any lessening of the tension in Czechoslovakia between the Roman Catholic Church and the government. On the contrary, that struggle continues to go from bad to worse. During the last seven days the only actions of consequence on the part of the church have been Archbishop Beran's designation of June 26 as a Sunday on which all Catholic pastors were to preach on the primacy and the authority of the pope, and the issuance of a circular letter by the bishops' council which reiterated the archbishop's denunciations of various professedly Catholic organizations and publications launched under government auspices and pronounced automatic excommunication against those supporting them. The state, however, used the week to step up its measures. A new organization, to which the familiar name of "Catholic Action" has been given, is seeking to enroll church members and clergy who believe that the hierarchy should make an agreement with the state, largely on the state's terms. According to Religious News Service, it claims 2,000 priests among its supporters, including several members of the Bratislava theological faculty. As in Rumania, the ministry of education now requires students in theological seminaries to take state-taught courses in "social doctrines," based on Marxist principles. Students failing to pass flunk their entire theological course, and hence will be kept out of the priesthood. Finally, the archiepiscopal chancellery in Prague was seized and searched by the police, the chancellor and another priest arrested, and Archbishop Beran virtually cut off from telephone or other communication with the outside world. First reports that the archbishop had been placed under house arrest were proved untrue when he officiated at the Corpus Christi rites in St. Vitus Cathedral. But the uproar which drowned out his attempt to preach showed how dangerously excited the Czech populace has become over the church-state issue. As was said last week, it is increasingly hard to see how either side can back down now without suffering what will seem an intolerable loss of face.

How Firm Is Nehru's Grip on India?

AN ELECTION far more important than the newspaper attention given it would suggest took place in Calcutta on June 12. In form, it was simply a choice by the south Calcutta district of a member of the West Bengal legislature—a seat which had been vacated by death. Seats in the provincial legislatures of India are usually about as important, in assessing the tides of world politics, as seats in the state legislatures of this country. In this case, however, far more was at stake than appeared on the surface. In the first place, the Congress party has recently lost three by-elections in Bombay, and it did not want to lose another in the leading industrial center on the other side of the country. In the second place, by sending Prime Minister Nehru and Home Minister Patel (the party boss) to stump the district personally for the Congress candidate, the ruling party put its leaders' influence to an open test. And in the third place, the independent candidacy of Sarat Chandra Bose, brother of Subhas Chandra Bose, who was killed while recruiting an Indian army to fight with the Japanese against the British in Burma and Malaya, made the challenge to Nehru plain to all India. The test turned out badly for Nehru. Sarat Chandra Bose won by almost 4 to 1, although he affected to show his contempt for his Congress opponents by leaving India for Switzerland before the end of the campaign. A part of the press is trying to interpret this outcome as resentment against the highly centralized form of government which the Congress party is writing into the constitution it is drafting in the constituent assembly. That had something to do with it. But far more potent, we suspect, was the resentment of the

Calcutta masses against Nehru's policy in keeping India within the (formerly British) Commonwealth of Nations. Subhas Chandra Bose, who now is almost as revered a martyr among India's masses as Mahatma Gandhi, made all-out opposition to Britain the core of his political agitation. His brother has been elected as a symbol of the same opposition. Nehru is taking the long view, and the more reasoned view. But by his decision at London he left himself sadly exposed to nationalistic attacks of an extremely effective nature.

McCarran Blocking D.P. Bill

WHO'S WHO says that the Hon. Patrick A. McCarran was born in Reno, Nevada, in 1876; graduated from the University of Nevada in 1901; was admitted to the Nevada bar in 1905; "practiced in Tonopah and Goldfield during the mining booms in those places"; became a district attorney, judge and finally chief justice of the state supreme court; ran for the Senate in 1926; made it in 1933; has become, thanks to seniority, chairman of the Senate judiciary committee. This is the man who, according to the press, has bottled up the liberalized displaced persons bill passed by the House, at the plea of President Truman, on June 2. He has it buried in his judiciary committee, and there he means to keep it until Congress adjourns. This, and his concurrent determination to cut Marshall plan appropriations by at least $740 million, represent the conceptions of statesmanship which rule the course of the senior senator from Nevada. Unfortunately, the senior senator is in a position where he probably can impose his will on his fellow senators. They may disregard his wishes in the matter of Marshall plan funds, although as chairman of the Senate's "watchdog" committee on expenditures he can put up a stiff fight. But it will require a revolution inside the judiciary committee for its members to go against senatorial precedent to the extent of forcing out on the Senate floor a measure which the chairman is determined to smother. Those who will not give up hope, however, for the passage of an approximately decent D.P. bill at this session of Congress—and as our editorial of June 15 said, H.R. 4567 is that—think that if enough Americans write to enough senators the rest of the judiciary committee may be emboldened to rise and put an end to what *Time* called the "bovine deliberateness and dogged delay" of the chairman.

Thoughts on the Passing Of a Rotary Motto

WE TRUST that the accomplished editorial writers employed by Henry R. Luce will not overlook what happened the other day at the 40th annual convention of Rotary International. Either *Life* or *Fortune,* or both, should go to town on this one. In their efforts to analyze what is happening to capitalism and whether dikes can be erected that will hold back the flood of "soft socialism," the Luce magazines should find the action of the Rotarians more revealing than all the millions of words in the reports put out by the Hoover commission and its task forces or a truckload of unabridged Dow-Jones averages. The Rotary action came very quietly. Possibly it came so quietly that most of the delegates who filled Madison Square Garden in New York never knew it happened at all. But on June 15 the Rotary International council on legislation submitted a report which disclosed that one of the famous mottoes which have marked that organization from its beginning has been thrown in the wastebasket. After forty years, Rotary will no longer proclaim that "he profits most who serves best." From now on, Rotarians will have to derive their inspiration from a simpler slogan: "Service above self." What has happened in forty years to make that other familiar motto an embarrassment to the Rotarians? It must have become an embarrassment, or tradition would have insisted on retaining it. Isn't it as true now as it was in 1909 that "he profits most who serves best"? Isn't the ideal of business which the motto enshrined a healthy one to keep before the Rotarian eye? Or was the trouble with the word "profits"? We have a suspicion that was the case. If it was, it uncovers a moral uncertainty at capitalism's heart that must be reckoned with when the future nature of Western society is being forecast. There were some who professed great indignation at the misgivings regarding capitalism which the churchmen at Amsterdam revealed last summer. It looks to us as though these embattled ones had better turn their attention to the Rotarians. When the time comes that Rotary betrays embarrassment over being linked to the idea of profits, the revolution is pretty close.

The Case of the Missing New Testament Scholar

BISHOP DIBELIUS' pastoral letter against the police tyranny in the eastern zone of Germany, reported in these pages last week, continues to be the occasion for ceaseless vituperation by the Russian-controlled press and radio. Some indication of the sort of thing which drove the bishop to his blast is to be found in an article by Oscar Cullmann, the famous professor of New Testament at Basel, which appeared in a recent issue of the *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz.* Dr. Cullmann is talking about the disappearance of Ernst Lohmeyer in a Russian prison or concentration camp. Professor Lohmeyer is one of Germany's leading New Testament scholars. He wrote the commentary on Mark in the great series begun by H. A. W. Meyer, the commentary on Revelation in the *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* series, the important monograph *Galiläa und Jerusalem,* and a number of other important works in the field of New Testament. He had established such a reputation as an anti-nazi that when the Russians came in they made him rector of the University of Greifswald. But he found it as difficult to get along with the Russians as with the nazis, and he soon disappeared. To this day, no one knows whether he is dead or alive. His wife continues to live in Berlin-Spandau; she has not had a word from her husband, directly or indirectly, since the night of his arrest, now more than two years ago. Professor Cullmann, writing from Switzerland, wants to know why the German church which could get so stirred up over the arrest of Niemöller has been so silent at the fate of Lohmeyer. Is there any essential difference between the arrests by nazis and by the Communists in east Germany? If any-

thing, is not the secrecy shrouding Lohmeyer's fate more of a cause for protest than was the public imprisonment of Niemöller and other victims of nazi despotism? Can the German church maintain its integrity if it lets such a thing as this abduction happen to a theologian of Lohmeyer's stature without confronting the Russians with it? These are the sort of questions the Swiss scholar asks his German church brethren in his article on Lohmeyer's disappearance. Bishop Dibelius was not the only German church leader who must have read that article.

Churches Undermine Public Schools

IF ANYONE doubts what will happen in every community in America if public funds are made available to sectarian schools, he should study the report recently made by Dr. William C. Reavis of the University of Chicago on the situation in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Because something like 40 per cent of its children attend Protestant and Roman Catholic parochial schools, the public school system in that city of 164,000 is having an extremely difficult time. Parents who are supporting parochial schools seem not to "appreciate the fact that public schools must be kept strong regardless of the development of private and church-related schools," says Dr. Reavis. "Private school supporters need only ask themselves what would happen to the United States if there were no public education to know they too have a vital stake in public schools." The Protestant schools are maintained by the Christian Reformed Church, which supports 10 schools for more than 5,000 pupils. The 15 Roman Catholic schools have 7,250 pupils. The public system is left to educate 19,894 pupils with inadequate funds. If public educational funds are made available to sectarian schools, not only the fundamentalist Christian Reformed but also a great many other churches will feel compelled to start their own schools. The only possible result will be a progressive deterioration of public education. The sectarian schools of Grand Rapids are effectively undermining the public system, without a division of public funds. The process would be accelerated if federal or state funds were made available to church schools, as was done in the bill recently passed by the Senate.

Worth Noting in the Passing Parade

SENATOR LODGE'S proposed constitutional amendment to govern the election of presidents has been approved by the Senate judiciary committee. It would abolish the electoral college and divide the electoral votes of states according to percentages (carried to the third decimal point) of the popular vote. President Truman has come out against the amendment, but as has been said in these columns before, we believe that the longer the American public considers it the more surely it will gain favor as a safeguard against inordinate power passing into the hands of minority groups strategically located, under the present system, to swing close or doubtful states. . . . A correction: The editorial in last week's issue, "Many Christian Bodies Ask for Internationalized Jerusalem," referred to a letter written by "Bishop Weston," Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, to the U.N. Palestine conciliation commission. When that paragraph was written, the writer forgot for the moment the regal fashion in which Anglican prelates sign themselves. The Anglican bishop of Jerusalem is the Rt. Rev. Weston H. Stewart. Our apologies to Bishop Stewart.

Federal Aid Minus Jokers

AT LAST Congress is being given an opportunity to enact a sound and honest bill for federal aid to education. Because the measure now submitted for its decision is consistent with the Constitution and because it provides national assistance to public elementary and secondary schools and to no others, it is violently attacked by Cardinal Spellman. Still, there is good reason to hope and better reason to work for the adoption of H.R. 4643. This bill was recently introduced by Representative Graham A. Barden, one of the dozen Democrats sent to the lower house of the 81st Congress by North Carolina. It deserves the wholehearted and energetic support of every friend of public education in America.

The lower house will have to decide soon between the Barden bill and S. 246, which was passed by the Senate. Washington sources which are closely following federal aid developments indicate that H.R. 4643 has a very good chance of passing the House of Representatives by a substantial majority. Members of Mr. Barden's subcommittee of the House committee on education and labor are so strongly in favor of it that they have decided not even to attempt to amend the measure passed by the Senate. Instead, they have voted 10 to 3 to approve the Barden bill and recommend its passage to the House. An influential factor in the debate which is certain to ensue will be the position of the National Education Association. This organization of public school educators has swung its support from S. 246, which was the best that could be got from the upper house, to the proposal of Representative Barden.

I

Specifically and solely designed to aid public elementary and secondary education, H.R. 4643 is accurately named the "Public School Assistance Act of 1949." It makes available to the states the same amount authorized in the Senate bill—$300 million. It also provides an additional $14.5 million for Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Its method of allocation is similar to that of the Senate bill, with the larger sums going to the poorer states. The money is to be disbursed to the states in the same way. The chief point of difference is that Section 6 of the Senate bill, which purports to aid public education, permits diversion of some of the money to sectarian schools, whereas Section 5 of H.R. 4643 states: "Amounts paid to any state under this act shall be expended only for current expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools within such state."

This section also contains a new provision for enforcement which will be highly effective if it becomes law. It

states that if any taxpayer believes that funds appropriated and allocated under this proposed law are being siphoned off for other than public schools, he may appeal to the nearest United States court "for an order enjoining such acts or practices, or for an order enforcing compliance" with the purpose of the law. This provision is designed to forestall situations like that which developed some months ago in Buffalo. Henry Adsit Bull, an attorney of that city, attempted to prevent the state of New York from giving the sum of over $100,000 to Canisius College, a Roman Catholic institution. His case was thrown out of court because the judge held that Mr. Bull could not show that his rights as a taxpayer had been infringed. Under the Barden bill, courts will be compelled to stop such misuse of public funds.

The "current expenditures" to which federal funds will apply, under H.R. 4643, do not include "expenditures for transportation" or for interest, debt service, capital outlay or health provisions. The Barden bill specifies that the schools which are to be aided shall be "tax-supported grade schools and high schools which are under public supervision and control." It makes no reference to parochial or private schools, but states its purpose constructively as support of public schools. This is a distinct improvement over previous attempts to legislate on this point.

But what response does this receive from Roman Catholic sources? On June 19 Cardinal Spellman attacked Representative Barden as a "new apostle of bigotry." This assault is completely unwarranted. By this definition, anyone is a bigot who seeks to aid the public schools. If this is bigotry, then nearly all Americans, including most Roman Catholics, are bigots. The cardinal's blast, which completely ignored the substance of the Barden bill, indicates his desperation at the prospect that the American people are now ready adequately to undergird the public schools without the consent of the Catholic hierarchy and without violating the Constitution.

II

The Barden bill is the first clear-cut, completely honest and adequate bill of its kind ever to be introduced into Congress. It deserves to be passed, and there are good reasons to believe that it will be approved by a substantial majority of the House and that President Truman favors it. If it makes its way successfully through this body, it and the Senate bill will then be referred to a joint committee of the two houses. This committee will have to reconcile the differences between the two measures. In this process the simplicity, directness and constructive character of H.R. 4643 will have an excellent chance of survival in the measure which will finally be submitted to both houses for adoption. This applies particularly to the clear honesty of its Section 5 as compared with the ambiguity and litigious evasiveness of Section 6 of the Senate bill.

In the light of what has gone before, all this seems almost too good to be true. But it is highly important for every friend of the public schools to recognize that suddenly a great opportunity has opened for American education, and that this opportunity must be capitalized immediately. Since favorable action by the House of Representatives is the first step toward a law which is in accord with federal and state constitutions and which will stand up before the Supreme Court, it is inestimably important that every representative in Congress hear from his constituents in support of the Barden bill. Copies of each letter or telegram should be forwarded to Congressman Graham A. Barden, House Office Building, Washington. Since he has done more than any other man in this Congress to help the public schools without yielding to the demand that the functions of church and state be intermingled, simple justice requires that he be given a great many expressions of gratitude and support. But the most effective assistance and encouragement Mr. Barden can receive will be letters to other members of Congress urging their support of H.R. 4643. He will know how to make the best use of copies of such letters.

III

We understand that the National Education Association is rushing 94,000 letters to teachers and school principals asking their support of the Barden bill. We would like to be able to say that the organizations of Protestant church life in America were acting with equal dispatch and scope, for they have an even larger stake in the maintenance of an adequate public school system in this country. Evangelical Christianity can hope to find the widest acceptance only among a literate and intelligent people. But if Protestant central organizations are slow to act and find difficulty in making their influence felt in the sudden crises of a legislative session, this need not be true of individuals. Every layman and minister is free to speak his mind by letter, telegraph or telephone, and to get his friends, members of his church and other associates, including his family, to do the same. Such personal and decentralized effort is far more effective than any lobby, however powerful or rich, which seeks federal funds for its own advantage.

The two elements necessary for effective action are sincerity and timeliness. There can be no doubt that aggressive efforts to break down the separation of church and state have created a powerful countermovement which is determined at all costs to preserve the integrity of American institutions. This movement has been held back by lack of a clear and commanding lead from Congress. Now that lead has been given by Representative Barden. No friend of the public schools needs to apologize for the Barden bill, or to fear the consequences if it is passed. It states positively, simply and without vindictiveness the American obligation to support the public grade and high school. It does so without slipping into that support a handout for the chief rival of the public school. It is presented at a moment when it immediately takes precedence over all other proposals in the field. Under these circumstances, we predict that it will open the floodgate of long pent-up concern for our desperately needy schools.

While it is impossible to forecast the shape that will eventually be taken by a great public movement, it is not difficult to see how it will begin. Throughout the country teachers, ministers, housewives and citizens in all walks of life are going to write letters to congressmen. If they don't know the congressmen's names, they realize that they will never have a better occasion for finding them out at the post office, the school or the library. Postmen will be amazed at the number of letters addressed to the House

Office Building, Washington, D. C., which appear in mailboxes. Then most of these letter-writers will start talking about what they have done. Each will discover two or three other people who are doing the same thing. They will put their heads together and start asking, Why not get this church, that Sunday school class, this club, that women's organization, this luncheon group, that family gathering, to start writing letters? Why not have the fun of getting a few people together, taking up a collection and making a person-to-person call to their representative in Washington? Let him tell the group what he is going to do about the Barden bill! Since it is vacation time, it is not unlikely that hundreds or thousands of people will go to Washington and see their congressmen face to face. They would not be as conspicuous as the scores of Catholic clerics who have haunted Capitol Hill during recent months, but that will not be to their disadvantage. They know that the Barden bill expresses an idea whose time has come, and it will not be denied.

Fourth of July Meditation

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: With the Fourth of July coming up, will you permit me to explode one small patriotic firecracker in your columns? It will be a quiet one, so as not to wake the Oldest Subscriber. I am not even sure it will go off, as it looks a little damp from here. But the fuse was lighted by no less a character than Sherlock Holmes.

John Dickson Carr's biography of Conan Doyle makes clearer than ever before that Doyle got awfully tired of Sherlock Holmes. The public's insatiable appetite for more Sherlock Holmes stories gave him no rest. Finally, in desperation, he pushed Sherlock over one of the steepest cliffs in fiction and killed him. But the public clamored so violently for more Sherlock that the author had to pass a miracle and bring him back to life.

Not so well known, however, is the fact that Conan Doyle also got ashamed of Sherlock Holmes. He came to think that detective stories were beneath his powers. He said of Holmes, "He takes my mind off better things." He thought his historical novel, *The White Company,* was far superior to Holmes and all his feats. Nobody else on earth thought so, but that made no difference to Doyle. A strange spectacle—a man ashamed not only of the best thing he had ever done in his life but of the *only* thing of first-rate worth he had ever done!

Here's another writer with the same strange attitude. An English girl of about twenty named Beatrix Potter wrote a little story for children, *Peter Rabbit,* a near-classic. (I hope I am not the only one of your readers who in childhood knew Mopsie, Flopsie and Cotton Tail, and Mr. McGregor, who roared at Peter in a deep Scotch brogue.) Beatrix Potter grew up and married a big landholder in England, and became a typical squiress (if that is what the wife of a squire straight out of Anthony Trollope is called).

At any rate, she became a fat, stuffy old woman and grew ashamed of *Peter Rabbit.* She called it "a childish indiscretion." In her later years she never allowed the name of Peter Rabbit to be mentioned in her presence. Ashamed of the best thing she had ever done and the only thing that had ever given her any distinction at all!

Now brace yourself, for here comes the Fourth of July moral. We seem to have a good many people in the United States who have one resemblance, at least, to Conan Doyle and Beatrix Potter. They have grown ashamed of the best things in American life and history. Our best, of course, is the ideal of democracy and the degree to which we have realized it. Its expression in the Declaration of Independence—"endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights"—came like a wonderful dawn of hope to the world. But a great many Americans are ashamed of our best—not only the wind machines in the Senate filibustering against civil rights for American citizens, but all who prefer discrimination and exploitation to democracy and to whom Thomas Jefferson is un-American.

The best in our American tradition, also, is the role we have played, that of sanctuary to the oppressed of Europe. A large part of our population are descendants of "displaced persons" who were refugees from disaster and hopelessness. Yet we have watched one of the greatest tragedies of history, the misery of the D.P.'s in Europe, and opened our gates only a few inches. So far we have admitted only a fraction of the number received by Britain and Canada. We have allowed the regulations to be so choked by discrimination and red tape that the open door has blown shut. Our best is pictured in the words of a refugee carved on the base of the Statue of Liberty:

> Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free . . .
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

God help us if we ever get ashamed of that!

Yours,

SIMEON STYLITES.

To a Pessimist

THEY SAY the earth is cooling down,
These prophets of an age of ice—
They live in caves that hide the sun.

These men are seers of great renown
Their arguments are terse, concise;
They say the earth is cooling down.

They tell us that our race is done,
Life's zest is gone, and gone its spice—
They live in caves that hide the sun.

Just look at any little town
And see how virtue has its price.
They say the earth is cooling down.

Since all we dreamed of seems undone
(The wedding's fruitless, lacking rice),
They live in caves that hide the sun.

And so our wisdom plays the clown
When we accept this sad advice:
They say the earth is cooling down—
They live in caves that hide the sun.

EMORY S. FULLING.

The Case for World Government

By Harold C. Urey

THE REAL PROBLEM before us is not the atomic bomb, and never has been. The real problem is modern war, in which weapons of all kinds have become so effective that victors and vanquished are almost equally destroyed. The effectiveness of such weapons is so great that the question can legitimately be raised whether it is possible any longer to maintain civilized life if periodically we make use of our destructive technologies; whether we can build up in times of peace with sufficient rapidity to overcome the rate of destruction in the periodic wars.

It is necessary to think of some policy that takes account of the destructiveness of modern war and, at the same time, of the position we occupy in a world where there are many conflicting national sovereignties, each reserving to itself the right to declare war when in its opinion war is justified. With the failure of the Acheson-Baruch proposals in the United Nations, we are back at the beginning—back in 1945 so far as a basic solution is concerned. At that time we thought we had a few years in which to secure a solution of the problem. In three years we have secured no solution. Time is running out, and we need to review and modify our policy in regard to this problem.

People Are Fundamentally Selfish

In attempting to draw up such a policy it is well to remember certain fundamental things about human beings. Though we may pretend otherwise, we are essentially selfish. In case any question arises as between one individual or community and another, each individual or community considers its own interest first. It is useless to say in drawing up a policy that we are going to look out first of all for the security of the whole world. As a matter of actual practice, we will not do anything of the kind, and neither will the people of any other country. We will attempt instinctively to secure ourselves against danger from without.

We have become accustomed to a way of life which has its roots in the far distant past. One of these roots, of very great importance to us, is the Christian religion; another, less important, the Jewish religion. Both preach a philosophy of the dignity of the individual human being and his essential value, regardless of how low his physical state on this earth may be. Though these religions have been imperfectly practiced in the millenniums of the past, they have influenced our life as it is lived from day to day. We have developed forms of representative government of which we are fond and which we sincerely believe bring to our people a maximum of happiness.

Any policy we adopt in these troubled times must take account of these fundamental and very deep-seated prejudices and instincts. I think that regardless of any arguments as to what we ought to do, we can be expected to attempt to further our own security and to support our own religious philosophies and governmental forms. If we are realistic we shall expect that the people of other countries will do the same. Only in such a realistic atmosphere can we hope to make progress on these problems.

Baruch Proposals Must be Scrapped

As a preliminary to establishing a line of action for the future, we should withdraw our support of the Baruch proposals which we placed before the United Nations over two years ago. However sincerely they were put forward, it seems doubtful that the executive officers of the United States would be willing to support these proposals even if they were accepted *in toto* by the U.S.S.R. I do not believe that anything like a two-thirds majority of the U.S. Senate could be secured for the approval of any treaty based on these proposals. If this estimate is correct, then we should not let ourselves remain in an ambiguous position. We should frankly withdraw the proposals if there is no reasonable probability of their being accepted by this country.

The discussions in the United Nations on this subject have been immensely valuable, though in a disappointing way. Each of the world's governments has been forced to make evident to the representatives of all others its real intentions. It is impossible to read the reports coming from the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission or from any other branches of the U.N. without arriving at the conclusion that the representatives of the U.S.S.R. have no intention of working with the rest of the world in any way whatever except on the basis of a universal Communist conquest.

Men Who Know No Law

It seems to me entirely reasonable that this should be true. Have not the present Russian leaders staked their entire lives on the success of that system? Is not their whole position in history dependent upon the success of that system? How can they possibly act otherwise? And is it not also true that the Soviet rulers are ruthless men who never in their lives have been subject to the law of their own country? In youth they were revolutionaries and violated the law because they believed in a higher law which they themselves formulated; and in old age they are dictators and again above the law. Therefore they have no concept of observance of the law as it is practiced by all of us from the President down in the United States, and they have no concept of the establishment of a higher law on a world scale such as is contemplated in the Acheson-Baruch proposals.

From time to time one hears the proposal that definite plans should be made to attack the U.S.S.R. at some date in the future. I do not agree. Many of us have lived through two world wars, and is it not true that international affairs have looked worse since August 1914 than they looked before? As young men my friends and I thought that the ideals of free representative government as practiced, though imperfectly, in the western countries of Europe and in the United States were gradually spread-

ing over the world, and that the lot of the common man was steadily improving. In Russia the Duma, in Germany the Reichstag, were making progress against their tyrannical masters. But never since have representative government and free institutions had such widespread acceptance in the world as they had before 1914.

Wars Only Complicate Problems

This retrogression is due to the two world wars and their effects on people's thinking, morals and material welfare. Wars do not aid in the solution of problems, but only make them far more complicated. Wars demoralize the victors and the vanquished to the point where neither brings to the solution of problems as much sanity as before. Wars are to be avoided if possible. It is still worth while to win a war rather than lose it, but it is more worth while to avoid war altogether.

In particular, we never have had a war with Russia. The Russian government has attempted to poison the minds of the Russian people against us, but apparently it has been having indifferent success, and the evil effects of its propaganda will perhaps wear off rather quickly if proper conditions are established. But if we once drop atomic bombs on the cities of Russia and destroy a great many people who are innocent of wrongdoing, then it will require many, many years to overcome the feelings of anger and hostility that will be aroused. And the world problems after such a war will be even more difficult to solve than the present ones.

It is not possible in setting up a foreign policy to solve our problems with respect to the U.S.S.R. by purely negative actions. We cannot deal with them by backing a corrupt Chinese government or supporting Franco because he is against the Communists. After all, there is not one evil in the world, but many, and every time we support an evil regime in a foreign country merely because it is against another evil regime in another foreign country, we lose many friends who are people of principle. In order to be effective vis-à-vis Russia we must have a positive objective. In fact I think that if we hold only to negative objectives we will lose them, for there is a fair chance that the upright peoples of the world will choose the particular situations which we consider evil rather than what they may come to regard as being more evil in us. Undoubtedly the people of China are accepting the Communists as the lesser of two evils, and the same sort of thing may occur in other parts of the world.

Technology Makes One World Possible

But is there any positive program toward which we can work—a program that offers a chance of success and perhaps the avoidance of war? I believe such a program exists. It lies in recognizing that a trend toward a government over the whole planet is inevitable and necessary.

It is not possible to prevent the development of weapons. It is only possible to control them. Control requires first the authority to control, which is sovereignty, and second a proper mechanism effectively to establish that control. This mechanism is called government. I propose therefore that the basic objective of United States foreign policy should be the establishment of a legal order—namely, a government—in those regions of human activity where only anarchy exists at present—namely, in international affairs. I propose that we replace poker games and six-shooters with police officers, courts, legislatures and responsible executives.

The opportunity of a worldwide sovereignty is also supplied by the technical inventions of the past century. It is now possible to have very rapid transportation and communication, so that the exchange of people and ideas as well as of material goods can be swift and convenient. The farthest reaches of the earth are now closer to each other, by reason of radio and airplane, than New York was to Washington when the thirteen colonies established a little sovereign state on the eastern seaboard.

Large problems must be solved in a fundamental way, and they can be solved only by frankly facing and discussing them in simple, well understood words. It is not possible to solve the problem of world government by piecemeal methods, and it is not possible to think clearly on the subject if we continue to use weasel words—"the rule of law," "law and order"—instead of the simple English words "world government." The reason for this is that none of us can think clearly unless each of us states his ideas clearly and concisely. We cannot make progress toward world order unless the people of this and other democratic countries understand fully what is involved.

Principles Must Be Held To

It is also necessary in this matter to adhere to principles and to compromise only on nonessentials. We cannot compromise with tyranny. There is no possible way of working with a tyrannical government. I have a rather low estimate of the trustworthiness of human beings unless the situation is such that their acts and statements are made in public and are subject to test in public.

It is fundamentally for this reason that it is impossible to trust tyrannical governments. The people who happen to be in control of such a government are perhaps worse on the average than human beings generally. From time to time—and the time comes sooner the more absolute the power—they find reasons, for the good of the people of their country of course, to do things that are neither honest nor upright nor trustworthy. Therefore in considering the establishment of a world sovereignty over and above the nations it is necessary to insist that the sovereignty shall be representative and democratic.

It cannot be expected that any world government will be ideal. Few of us are satisfied with our city, state and federal governments, but virtually all of us would agree that it is better to have our present imperfect governments than to have none at all. Thus we must expect that any world government that is established will be imperfect. But I also believe that if proper safeguards against tyranny are set up, it is very probable that the situation of mankind will be improved immensely by the establishment of that government, in spite of the fact that none of us can now foresee the many detailed problems which must be solved to arrive at that government, and in spite of the fact that none of us can tell whether tyranny will raise its ugly head in that field as it has often raised it in others.

This is the first part of an article by Dr. Urey. The second and concluding part will appear next week.

Thoreau's 'Civil Disobedience'

By John Haynes Holmes

THOREAU'S essay on civil disobedience, published just a hundred years ago, is usually thought of as a native New England product, and at the most as a permanent part of our American literature. Yet it has gone around the world. It reached, among others, the soul of Gandhi. The great Indian has told us with some precision of the books which were determining factors in the fashioning of his thought and life. These were the Bhagavad-Gita, the Scripture of his Hindu faith, the New Testament, especially the "Sermon on the Mount," John Ruskin's *Unto This Last,* Leo Tolstoi's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You,* and—Henry David Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience.*

This book, or rather pamphlet, thus had its decisive place in the greatest revolution of modern times, and in the mind of one of the half-dozen supreme historical figures of all times. Gandhi extended and deepened Thoreau's gospel into the potent weapon of soul-force, which achieved Indian independence. He made it not the lone protest against tyranny of the single individual, but the massed revolt of disciplined multitudes of men. But the seed was of Thoreau's planting.

Product of a Tumultuous Time

Civil Disobedience was first published, under its original title of "Resistance to Civil Government," in Miss Elizabeth Peabody's *Aesthetic Papers.* Prepared in the beginning as a lecture, it may have been written in 1848. In 1866, it appeared with another essay, "Life Without Principle," in a volume entitled *A Yankee in Canada, with Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers.* (See Henry Seidel Canby's *The Works of Thoreau.*)

In its first form as published in 1849, it appeared midway between the Mexican War (1846-47) on the one hand, and the Fugitive Slave Law (1850) on the other. In both these fights—the former on the field of battle, the latter in the arena of public opinion—the right of civil disobedience was loudly and widely proclaimed. It was the anti-slavery epoch, and it was under the stimulus of this tumultuous period that Thoreau's essay was written. Resentment and resistance against the war, and later on against the law, sprang fundamentally from the same furious seething of emotion stirred up by the iniquity of legalized human bondage. Thoreau put by emotion, though he felt the situation keenly, and attempted calmly and soberly to think through the question of slavery in relation to the state. Here was a chance, a challenge, to present the reason for civil disobedience, and therewith justify the widespread rebellion of the times. So he set down the argument for this deliberate defiance of government, and did it so clearly and convincingly that his essay of less than twenty pages became and still remains the classic in its field.

It is usually assumed that *Civil Disobedience* presents the case for philosophical anarchism and thus urges opposition to government for its own sake. And it is true that Thoreau wrote sentences, indeed whole passages, which seem to sustain this idea. Thus he quotes Jefferson's famous statement, "That government is best which governs least," and caps it with his own declaration, "That government is best which governs not at all." He asserts that "the objections which have been brought against a standing army, and they . . . deserve to prevail, may also at last be brought against a standing government." "Government never of itself furthered any enterprise, but by the alacrity with which it got out of its way. *It* does not keep the country free. *It* does not settle the west. *It* does not educate. The character inherent in the American people has done all that has been accomplished, and it would have done somewhat more if the government had not sometimes got in its way."

Not 'No Government,' but 'Better Government'

But he is soon making distinction between himself and "those who call themselves no-government men." What he wants, at least for the present, is "not at once no government, but at once a better government." Before he gets through, he is talking about "the authority of government, even such as I am willing to submit to," and "imagining a state . . . which can afford to be just to all men, . . . which even would not think it inconsistent with its own repose if a few were to live aloof from it, not meddling with it, nor embraced by it." Even as things are, he thinks "the Constitution, with all its faults, is very good, the law and the courts very respectable, even this state and this American government . . . very admirable."

It is obvious that what Thoreau had in mind, in his essay, was bad government in contrast to good, and the right, nay the duty, of citizens to resist evil in the state even to the point of open and deliberate disobedience to its laws. There were two prodigious evils present when he was writing, as we have seen—the Mexican War, and the institution of slavery in the interest of which he believed the war was being fought—and these absolved all true citizens from allegiance to existing government. "This people," he wrote, "must cease to hold slaves, and to make war on Mexico, though it cost them their existence as a people."

Serving the State with One's Conscience

Indeed, they must go farther, and resist the government which recognizes and protects these abominations. "I do not hesitate to say that those who call themselves Abolitionists should at once effectually withdraw their support, both in person and property, from the government of Massachusetts." For men should "serve the state with their consciences." No citizen can, "in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator. . . . We should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right." All of which means that the individual and not society is primary.

Thoreau was not an anarchist but an individualist. He would not have the government impose its law upon the citizen, but rather the citizen impose his will upon the gov-

ernment. As a matter of fact, the state rules the citizen only because it exercises "superior physical strength." It confronts a man not with "superior wit or honesty," but with force, as in an army where men are "on a level with wood and earth and stone." But "I was not born to be forced," cries Thoreau; "I will breathe after my own fashion."

Then he goes on to lay down his philosophy. Government, he writes in the concluding page of his essay, "can have no pure right over my person and property but what I concede to it. The progress from an absolute to a limited monarchy, from a limited monarchy to a democracy, is progress toward a true respect for the individual. . . . There will never be a really free and enlightened state until the state comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly." Such a state is "not yet anywhere seen." It can only be "imagined." Meanwhile, Thoreau will go his way. If this means prison, so be it. Prison is the place for "just men" until the government "gives up war and slavery."

A Precious Symbol

The one method of civil disobedience which Thoreau advocates, and affirms by his example, is refusal to pay taxes. He states that he has "never declined paying the highway tax," nor the school tax, "because I am as desirous of being a good neighbor as I am of being a bad subject." But he will not pay general taxes which help to support war and slavery. He knows that his refusal is ineffectual, but as a symbol it is precious. "I wish to refuse allegiance to the state, to withdraw and stand aloof from it." When neighbors paid his tax for him, and thus released him from jail, he was displeased. And he dreams of the "peaceful revolution" that would come "if a thousand men were not to pay their taxes this year."

It is interesting to read, in these so different times, this uncompromising declaration of the rights of the individual as over against the sovereignty of society. Herbert Spencer's *The Man Versus the State* and John Stuart Mill's *Essay on Liberty* make good supplementary reading on the same theme. Likewise it is exciting to recall how advocates of "non-violent resistance," to use Gandhi's phrase, carried over into action their sentiments of protest.

Theodore Parker's Contemporary Course

Theodore Parker, Thoreau's contemporary, is a supreme example. On the occasion of the Mexican War, which he abominated as the long arm of slavery dragging the country into conflict with its neighbors, Parker asked, "What shall we do?" and answered, "In regard to this present war, we can refuse to take any part in it; we can encourage others to do the same; we can aid men, if need be, who suffer because they refuse. Men will call us traitors: what then? That hurt nobody in '76! We are a rebellious nation; our whole history is treason. . . . Though all the governors in the world bid us commit treason against man, . . . let us never submit. Let God only be a master to control our conscience!"

More dramatic was Parker's statement in the pulpit of the Music Hall on a Sunday morning (October 6, 1850) following the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law as a part of Henry Clay's omnibus bill. Denouncing the law and pointing out that it placed in jeopardy escaped slaves in Boston and even in his own church, Parker exclaimed: "Shall I stand by and see some of my own flock carried off into bondage, and do nothing to hinder it? . . . To law framed in such iniquity I owe no allegiance. Humanity, Christianity, manhood revolt against it. . . . For myself—I say solemnly—I will shelter and I will help the fugitive with all my humble means and power. I will act with any body of serious and decent men, as the head, or the foot, or the hand, in any mode not involving the use of deadly weapons, to nullify and defeat the operation of this law; and I feel confident there is enough of manhood and true Christianity in Boston to protect every fugitive amongst us, without the shedding of blood or even the rending of a garment."

As to whether Parker ever read *Civil Disobedience*, there is no evidence. In all the fifteen large volumes of his collected works, only one reference to Thoreau appears, and that a purely casual one. In the ten volumes of Emerson's *Journals* the essay is not mentioned, though Thoreau's sojourn in jail for not paying his taxes is recorded. "On him," writes Emerson, "they could not calculate." The fact is that *Civil Disobedience* seems to have attracted little attention and less comment when it appeared. Yet it defined the principle upon which heroic action was basing itself, and remains therefore a permanent contribution to the literature of man's thought.

Dangers of the New Democracy

In the century that has passed since the publication of *Civil Disobedience*, conditions of life have vastly changed. Especially has government been transformed, or rather the relation of government to its citizens. Democracy at the start meant deliverance from the undue intrusion of society upon the individual. This was freedom! Thoreau dramatized the idea in his retreat to Walden. But today we think of democracy in terms of cooperation—the joining together of many free men in some common enterprise for the common good. Society enters into the lives of men in a way and to a degree which would horrify Thoreau were he still alive.

We justify this change of relationship between man and the state by emphasizing that government in this new function is accepted not as a rod to subdue the people, but as an instrument to equip them for the work they have to do together. Government in this sense is an indispensable tool to achieve for society as a whole what could be done by no one man or group of men. But in this very process, government takes on power, and is thus ever tempted to use this power at the expense of the people and in its own corporate interest. Bureaucracy, red tape, rule from above rather than from below, dictatorship, tyranny—all these are perils in waiting for a socialized democracy. At the end of this dangerous road, in other words, if we take the wrong turn, lies totalitarianism of left or right.

It is this fact, now inwrought in a world situation, which makes the revival of Thoreau's essay so timely. Woe to the society which forgets that the state was made for man, and not man for the state! And double and treble woe to the society which no longer breeds men to rise up, at the cost of their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, to

resent and rebel against any attempt to subordinate them as individuals to the dominance of the state! The individual must at all times and in all places be the very core of social being.

This is the principle which is in such danger at the present hour. We thought that we had won the battle for liberty. But this ideal was never as firmly established in men's minds as we had so fondly imagined. The blast of war has shaken it loose, and in some cases swept it away. We must build anew the rights of man. And in this task there can be no more useful aid than Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*.

BOOKS

A Christian Philosophy of History

GOD'S GRACE AND MAN'S HOPE. *By Daniel Day Williams. Harper, $2.75.*

A MEDIATING, but a strong, theology is presented by Dr. Williams in this richly rewarding volume. It might be called "a Christian philosophy of history," if that term is understood to include such questions as these: How does God participate in the historical process, if at all? For human society on earth, is moral progress inevitable and automatic, or actual though contingent, or impossible? Does improvement in the social order and the advancement of human welfare have any bearing upon the realization of the Kingdom of God? What is sin, and what is freedom, and what do they have to do with man's history and hope? And on the basis of the positions established in the first chapters, what principles of individual and social ethics should guide the Christian man, and in what sense may he strive for growth in grace?

These are momentous themes. They are all of contemporary importance. In discussing them, the author touches the hot spots of present theological controversy. This is no shadow-boxing with the ghosts of dead issues. Dr. Williams aims to steer a middle course between the "liberal" and the "neo-orthodox" philosophies of history, describing and correcting the theological errors which he believes to be implicit in each, recognizing the truths to which each has given its own characteristic and sometimes unbalanced emphasis, and arriving at a resultant between the optimism of the one and the pessimism of the other, not by compromise but by synthesis of the permanent truths of both around the dual concept of God as Creator and Redeemer.

Those who think that "liberalism is dead"—a phrase frequently heard from persons whose wish fosters, if it does not father, the thought—may not agree that a discussion is timely which concedes validity to any aspect of liberal thought. The apparent wrecking of 19th century hope for peaceful progress by two wars and two postwar confusions, and the prestige of certain great neo-orthodox personalities, largely from areas where the confusion was worst confounded, have seemed to some to mean the death of liberalism. Its obsequies are premature. Only the continuance of conditions which liberalism brought about has given a free platform from which to proclaim its failure and fortunate demise. But in the opinion of the author (and of this reviewer), liberalism is far from dead.

The foundation for the argument is laid (Chapter I) in an exposition and critique of each of the two contrasting systems of thought. The summaries of the two positions are eminently fair. "The liberal vision sees God working in human history for a progressive achievement of a higher order of life for mankind. The culmination of his work will be the establishment of a universal brotherhood of justice and love. The historical process taken in its over-all course is thus essentially, if not wholly, the story of God's success with man." Liberalism does not regard progress as automatic or easy, or even as inevitable except as the ultimate triumph of the will of God may be considered certain; and still less is it humanistic. God works with men who work with him. "It is in this union of the sacred and the secular that the real prophetic power of liberal Christianity is to be found." But the liberal perspective tended to foreshorten the struggle and to represent victory as closer than it is and perhaps more complete than it can ever be. Ozora Davis' hymn is aptly cited:

> At length there dawns the glorious day
> By prophets long foretold; . . .
> The day of dawning brotherhood
> Breaks on our eager eyes . . .

An even more extreme description of liberalism's terrestrial millennium might have been found in the verses of J. A. Symonds which, whether or not written as a hymn, are often found in hymnals:

> These things shall be: a loftier race
> Than e'er the world hath known shall rise
> With flame of freedom in their souls
> And light of knowledge in their eyes. . . .
>
> New arts shall bloom of loftier mold
> And mightier music thrill the skies,
> And every life shall be a song,
> When all the earth is paradise.

But these lines are more truly a modern development of the spirit of the secular Renaissance, to which Symonds gave many years of intensive and appreciative study, than a statement of the hope of Christian liberalism—which is optimistic, no doubt, but not quite in this blithe way.

At only one point did I suspect an inadvertent misrepresentation of a liberal spokesman, and that was in the comments on S. J. Case's *The Christian Philosophy of History*. My memory could not consent to the statement that Case saw history only as "a conflict of good men with bad men," or that he made such a "neat separation" between the two classes as his critic alleges. A rereading of Case disclosed passages which could be so interpreted, but I think their larger context would make the distinction less "neat." I am quite sure Case was too good a historian to think that "good men" are wholly good and "bad men" absolutely bad, and too good a theologian to leave God entirely out of the picture. And, even though all men are sinners and stand under the judgment of God, I am equally sure that Williams would not deny that, as agents for advancing human welfare in accordance with the will of God, some men are better than others. But, after this defense of my former colleague, I repeat that Williams not only expounds Christian liberalism with extraordinary accuracy and recognizes its abiding values, but also puts his finger with precision upon its weaknesses. It expected too much too soon and oversimplified the problem of progress; and it did both because it did not sufficiently take into account the fact and the universality of sin.

No less fair, appreciative and penetrating are the exposition and critique of neo-orthodoxy, as represented by the key figures of Barth, Brunner and Niebuhr. No doubt these men all have their answers to the criticisms of their positions; they have, indeed, given them in advance in their voluminous works. My opinion as to whether these answers meet the points that are raised against them would not be of great value, and extended discussion here is impossible. What neo-orthodoxy has done, at least, is to bring the fact of sin into prominence, and to "set ringing again the great bell of evangelical faith" in a world that apparently is not gradually going on to glory but is halted in a slough of uncertainty and standing in the need of prayer.

Both liberalism and neo-orthodoxy, says Williams, fall short in that they do not recognize the redemptive as well as the creative activity of God. The positive theme of the book (stated in Chapter II) is that a Christian view of history takes account of God as Creator and Redeemer. Man himself is not passive in the continuing drama of creation, but the power is the power of God; and since God is Redeemer as well as Creator, man does not have to face the alternative of either supporting

his optimism by ignoring his own sinfulness or falling into pessimism about himself and his world by confessing it. Chapters III, IV and V develop the implications of the doctrine of redemption: first, as to the nature of man's "real good" and Christian love (with a keen criticism of Nygren's *Eros and Agapé* and of Niebuhr's similar view); second, as to the relation of Christian love to the actual social and political structures of the world, and consequently of the Kingdom of God to human institutions (with criticisms of Niebuhr on power as necessarily evil, and of Buber and Brunner on institutions as necessarily evil because impersonal); third, as to the possibility of progress toward the Kingdom of God in history (with discussions of the theory of two kinds of time, as argued by Kierkegaard, Berdyaev and others, freedom, progress, and the meaning of the "reign of Christ"). The book's argument may be said to culminate in the superb pages (129-35) at the end of Chapter V.

The remaining three chapters, VI, VII and VIII, hold the theological ground that has been gained and apply the doctrine to the questions of human duty and hope. Since all men are involved in the evils they deplore, the problem of ethics is how to "hold together the absolute claim of the God of love amidst the ambiguities of our moral situation." The crux is more fully stated thus:

> Our problem is to interpret the moral responsibility of the Christian in relation to the faith that God's grace is operative creatively and redemptively in life. If this can be done, we shall have passed beyond the crisis of liberal Christianity; for the liberal view of the relation of Christian love to moral problems is in difficulty today precisely because the philosophy of history on which it is based does not sufficiently recognize the tragic obstacles which are set in the way of the life of love. Neo-orthodox theology is unable to give adequate ethical guidance, for, as we have seen, its philosophy of history commits an opposite error and puts the love of God outside of history. It is judgment upon us; but it does not transform the world.

Basic concepts in the solution of this problem are: the often distorted but indispensable old Protestant doctrine that all life is, for the Christian, a "vocation" from God; and the "embattled Christ" who struggles in and with men, even now, to put his enemies under his feet and bring about "the reign of Christ." The hope of Christians is not dependent upon expectation that the perfected Kingdom of God will be achieved on earth and "in history," nor is their present duty qualified by conviction that it will not.

The "clue" to right conduct is to "do what needs to be done to serve the good which God is bringing about . . . in the light of what is possible in the actual situation." (Strangely, the author thinks Roman Catholicism shows superior acumen in "understanding the Christian community as a source of moral insight." As a matter of fact, the Roman Catholic Church trusts its "Christian community" for moral insight less than does any other church; the "teaching church" in which moral wisdom abides is not the Christian community but the hierarchy.) Liberalism's hope for a better society had value and should be saved, but needs to be reformulated. The new formulation suggested is more modest in aim; it is a disciplined hope, with a more explicit and defensible theological basis. The section on the social aims of Christians is quite as explicit as the old "social gospel" was, and much farther-reaching. Faith in the Kingdom of God is faith in something which, in its completeness, is still "beyond history." Perfection is not possible in any human society, but "history is open to the power of God and through his power society can be transformed *in the direction* of the real good." It has already been indicated that this will not happen without the cooperation of men who, whether or not they can be called "good men," are at least committed to good ends. Finally, there is such a thing as growth in grace and, if and when it occurs, it will be reflected in better men and a better society. "Through the transforming power of God, it is possible for men to love one another." Williams sees the ambiguities of man's condition as flesh and spirit, sinner and striver for the good, finite but immortal. He does not indulge the fancy, dear to some writers, that a paradox is solved when it is stated. He shows that life and history have meaning.

With all the urgency at my command, I recommend the purchase, thoughtful reading and careful study of this great book. W. E. Garrison.

Books in Brief

Handbook to the Mennonite Hymnary. *By Lester Hostetler. Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kan., $3.00.* One of the best hymnbooks of recent years is the one published by the Mennonites, a grand collection of the solid hymns of the church with a good, but not disproportionate, representation of hymns and chorales of German origin. The present handbook gives data about both the words and the music of each number in this book, facts about authors and composers, and helpful suggestions concerning interpretation and use, all very concisely stated and with no sentimental gush. The German originals are given, and in at least one case a Greek original, of translated hymns. Since a great part of the material in the *Mennonite Hymnary* is common to all standard collections, the handbook will be of value to those who use other hymnbooks.

Arctic Mood, A Narrative of Arctic Adventures. *By Eva Alvey Richards. Caxton Printers, $4.00.* The author taught a government school at Wainwright, Alaska, 1924-26. Wainwright is pretty far north, on the Arctic coast, in the upper left-hand corner of the map of Alaska. Being the teacher in that remote community involved a good deal more than teaching; it included about everything that could be covered by the term "social work," and more besides, with some long journeys across country under conditions that make the term "adventures," in the title, no exaggeration. Mrs. Richards tells a clear story of her sights and insights without too much romantic coloration. The most interesting feature is that she enables the reader to see the Eskimos as real people who have warm personal qualities even if they do live in a cold climate.

The Age of Johnson. *Essays presented to Chauncey Brewster Tinker. Yale University Press, $5.00.* Chauncey Tinker taught English at Yale, first as instructor, then as professor, from 1903 until his retirement in 1945. His attention was early focused on the 18th century, upon which he became a super-pre-eminent authority. Wherever you find a college professor of English not past middle age and specializing on the 18th century, there is a good chance that he is one of Tinker's students. Thirty-six of them have contributed to this remarkable *Festschrift*—remarkable because its arrows all fall within so small a target. Rich a field as it is for either reading or research, the 18th century is a relatively small area within the total terrain of literary and historical scholarship. While the editors of the book would not claim that this symposium gives a complete and balanced survey of the glamorous century, it does cover a vast variety of topics, and on many of them it makes original and exciting contributions. To mention in this connection the chapters on Boswell, Goldsmith, Garrick, Burney, Fielding ("the most important Christian moralist of his generation"), Sterne, Blake and Hogarth, is not to exclude others.

Actions and Passions, Notes on the Multiple Revolution of Our Time. *By Max Lerner. Simon & Schuster, $3.50.* Both the literary texture of this book and its author's general position on social, economic and political matters may be indicated by saying that the volume is a compilation of his signed contributions to the late New York daily *PM*. The viewpoint is therefore "liberal." Perhaps it should be added (not that it needs to be) that no unprejudiced critic ever accused Mr. Lerner of having any pinkish tinge in his liberalism. The themes discussed in these short extracts include everything of more than passing interest that made the headlines between November 1944 and August 1948, and some things that didn't. This material has been rearranged topically, at least on very broad lines, to enable the many scattered blows of this "fighting liberal" to make a more solid impact on the public mind. To quote the jacket: "In Part I he gives a base, in American culture and in ethics, for the reawakened liberal forces. In Part II he describes the political and economic basis for a real independent, non-communist progressive movement. And in Part III he suggests the outline of a foreign policy and a philosophy of world change—the 'multiple revolution of our time.'" W. E. G.

CORRESPONDENCE

Southern Baptists

SIR: For a piece of inspired reporting, I have never seen the superior of Harold Fey's article on the Southern Baptist Convention. He caught the two sides as cleverly and as accurately as would seem possible. But don't publish this, at least with my name. I live too close to them to run any risks.

Missouri. [NAME WITHHELD.]

SIR: Undoubtedly Southern Baptists show many signs of adolescence, not the least of which are ignorance, enthusiasm and vital growth. But the report by Harold E. Fey on the recent Southern Baptist Convention was not so convincing of the bigotry of Southern Baptists as of the dangerous tendency toward spiritual pride which often accompanies superior intellectual and ethical attainments.

WILLIS B. GLOVER, JR.
Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Tex.

SIR: That was a superb piece of reporting that Harold E. Fey did in writing up the Southern Baptist Convention. It was understanding, penetrating, fair and evaluating.

The disturbing element revealed is the intense denominational spirit, not only in this section of the church but in much if not most of the denominational life of Christendom. This is revealed by the great concern manifested at the proposed union of the Northern Baptists and the Disciples. Could it be that these Southern Baptists look upon the Northern Baptists as their preserve for absorption?

J. KENDRICK BALLOU.
Sunnyvale, Calif.

The Dodd Case

SIR: The case of Dr. Aleck Dodd and his refusal to pay taxes for war purposes seems significant in many ways. Your editorial stressed the high obligation of the church to defend his right of conscience in his refusal to pay, but also mentioned the fact that the U. S. "continues to spend more for military preparations than it was spending for all purposes whatsoever the year before World War II."

This and other evidence indicates that in the world armament race the United States is playing one of the major roles, if not the major role. Increasing amounts of the taxes individuals pay (and the major source of revenue in the federal treasury is the tax on incomes of individuals) are going for such things as germ weapons and atom bomb stockpiling, thus helping the approach of the catastrophe which everyone professes to abhor.

It is recognized that lawmakers and law enforcers within our government largely control policy and are not disturbed very much by what even the most influential of our citizens talk about or write about. They may even be glad for them to keep on talking and writing in opposition, just so long as they do not in any way act. But for citizens (particularly religious leaders, who have great responsibility in moral leadership) not to act, seems now a surrender to the military and an abandonment of the distraught and helpless multitudes. No matter what they may say against, or write against, our armament policy, Truman Doctrine or North Atlantic pact, if they are still paying for them, it seems to be "talking peace and preparing for war."

Because of this it would seem that, quite aside from the issue of the rights of conscience, the tax refusal act of Dr. Dodd is a very significant thing, and may serve as a worthy example for others to follow.

ERNEST R. BROMLEY.
Wilmington, Ohio.

If Gara, Why Not Me?

SIR: On June 2 three judges sitting in the federal court of appeals in Cincinnati refused to give bail to a young Quaker, Larry Gara, an instructor on the faculty of Bluffton College, a Mennonite institution at Bluffton, Ohio, pending the hearing of an appeal from a conviction under the Selective Service Act which had taken place a couple of weeks earlier in the federal court in Toledo.

Larry Gara has been for more than a decade a dear friend of mine, and perhaps in a spiritual sense a son, certainly a young man whom I would be proud to have as a son. Conscience and common decency compel me to say to the authorities and to as many of my fellow citizens and fellow churchmen as I can possibly reach that if the federal authorities believe that Larry Gara and the twoscore young men, Quakers and others, who refused on grounds of conscience to register for the draft, belong in prison and they keep them there, then the authorities should promptly purge themselves of the guilt of administering the law in a grossly discriminatory fashion and should take steps to try to send me to prison also.

I have been much more active than Larry Gara and have gone farther in trying to promote civil disobedience to the draft act and to any other measures of preparation for atomic and bacterial war. Both in public and in private I have advocated civil disobedience to the draft and to any war measures as, in my opinion, the right, patriotic and Christian thing to do. While not desiring anyone to take this stand who is not inwardly prepared to do so, I have done and shall continue to do all in my power to increase the movement of civil disobedience to the draft among young and old, men and women. (In the interest of accuracy let me make it clear that I have not promoted organized civil disobedience as an officer of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, but as an individual and also as secretary of a movement known as Peacemakers. The fellowship has not engaged in organizing civil disobedience, though its council and its members give moral support to those who believe they are called to engage in such activities.) Furthermore, since January 1, 1948, I have refused to pay federal income taxes because I felt I had to find every possible means to divorce myself from any voluntary support of the crowning irrationality and atrocity of atomic and bacterial war. I had to do what I did in order to remain true to American and democratic principles as I understood them, and to the teachings of Christ.

I am by no means eager to go to prison; and I bear no ill will to any federal officials or anyone else. But adolescent and growing youths should not be conscripted for atomic and bacterial war. Young men like Larry Gara ought not to be jailed for expressing their deepest religious convictions and counseling a young man, as the apostles did, to "obey God rather than men." Whether at liberty or in prison, where Larry Gara and these young men are, I belong. If it is a matter of conscience with public officials to imprison such youths—even under a Selective Service Act which has for months been completely inoperative except for this purpose of jailing conscientious objectors—then they should administer their public duty without discrimination and not evade the issue raised by older men like myself and by women who continuously and vigorously advocate civil disobedience.

New York, N. Y. A. J. MUSTE.

Henry VIII Again

SIR: I have just had called to my attention by a reader of your magazine the review published in your issue of April 6 of *Henry VIII and the Reformation.* Although I am unable to read all the religious journals I should like to, your publication has always been high among those preferred against the day I could afford to read it. I was shocked to see such references as "the Henrician religion," "the church that monarch created," and other references throughout the review, which indicates quite thoroughly that your reviewer as well as your magazine by publishing such has allowed himself to be a perpetrator of the Roman fable, and in plainer English, *outright lie,* to the effect that Henry VIII founded, created or had anything to do with any beginning of the Church of England.

I shan't bother to go into the historical truths which go to disprove this falsehood which you thus apparently with malice aforethought help to spread, as I am quite

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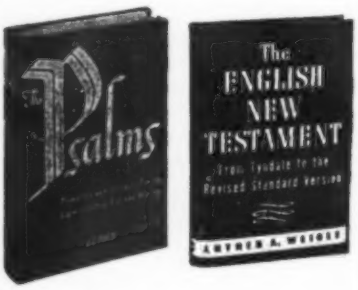

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certain that men of the scholarship as your reviewer and your editorial staffs must be familiar with good history, but I would call to your attention that you certainly are not doing the cause you claim to espouse any good by such attacks upon the historical traditions of a branch of Christianity which you profess to desire to see cooperate in the various non-Roman efforts in this country and in the world. Certainly it is such journalism and perversions of the truth that makes many of us question the wisdom of our association with the so-called Federal Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches, when a journal which has espoused these causes as I remember you have lends itself to such unwarranted attacks upon cooperating bodies or members.

Further I am sure you cannot blame any priest of the Anglican Church if he advises those who may seek the guidance he may have to give to no longer support by subscribing to publications which take such an attitude. JOHN QUINCY MARTIN.

Au Sable Forks, N. Y.

[Our putative, and now probably indefinitely postponed, subscriber is objecting to a study of the English Reformation written by a distinguished clergyman-scholar of the Church of England and reviewed by the professor of church history in a leading American theological seminary. Presumably he knows that there are other interpretations of the history of Anglicanism than that of the Anglo-Catholic minority in that communion. He threatens reprisals, however, unless this paper presents only that interpretation in all its columns. Our book review department will remain free.—THE EDITORS.]

A Never Ending Debate

SIR: John C. Stevens, in a letter to The Christian Century of June 8, states that Anglicans are not Protestants. There is no basis in history, law or philology for his contention.

The British Act of Settlement of June 1701, which is still in force, states that the King of England must belong to the Church of England and also that he must be a Protestant. According to Mr. Stevens' contention this is impossible since, if he is an Anglican, he cannot be a Protestant, and if he is a Protestant he cannot be an Anglican, which leaves the poor king (or is it Mr. Stevens?) on the horns of a dilemma. Surely the Parliament of the United Kingdom knew what they were doing and weighed carefully the meanings of these words before they wrote them in such an important statute.

The British Act of Supremacy, passed in the reign of Henry VIII and amplified in a statute of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, states that the King of England is the head of the Anglican church, and this statute has never been repealed. Now, since the king must be a Protestant, does not Mr. Stevens see that his contention is rather strange, if not absurd, that the head of a non-Protestant church must be a Protestant? It is just about as silly as to suggest that the pope might be a Protestant.

So much for the law on the question. The philological argument is just as strong against Mr. Stevens. The *Oxford Dictionary,* the chief authority on such matters, gives the following meaning to the word "Protestant": "A member or adherent of any Christian church or body severed from the Roman communion in the Reformation of the 16th century, hence, generally any member of a Western church outside the Roman communion." I presume that Mr. Stevens knows enough history to be aware that in the 16th century the Church of England was severed from the Church of Rome and fits exactly the dictionary meaning just quoted.

Mr. Stevens for some reason wishes to slough off this eminently respectable word "Protestant." Before he can do that, however, he will have to see that such venerable and venerated statutes as the acts of Supremacy and Settlement are repealed, and also write a new dictionary defining words, not as usage has fixed their meaning, but in a way that will satisfy his prejudice against their universally accepted meaning.

GEORGE A. CORNISH.

University of Toronto,
Toronto, Ont.

That Pittsburgh Vote

SIR: Permit me to point out, apropos of your correspondent's remarks (June 15) concerning the attitude of local churches of the Pittsburgh area toward the merger, that the official vote on the question at the Western Pennsylvania association shows that 14 approved the merger and 29 disapproved, while 18 signed to go along with the merger if consummated and 25 demurred. This is not exactly the blanket rejection suggested in your report, even though "those opposed" have a majority! There is also plenty of evidence to show that as doubtful points are cleared up, more and more of the rank and file are for the merger. A. T. B. HAINES.

First Congregational Church,
Tarentum, Pa.

Judicial Obiter Dicta?

SIR: I have just received a letter from Judge Harold R. Medina, a Princeton classmate of mine who is now conducting the trial of alleged Communists in New York, containing a statement which I think should be passed on to your readers. He says: "If every one of the churches would dig in and do their job, there would be no need of such trials as the one over which I am now presiding. Perhaps we shall some day give Christianity a tryout."

Judge Medina is a vestryman in the Episcopal Church.

WILBUR LA ROE, JR.

Washington, D. C.

NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Let Campus Solve Own Red Problem

University of North Carolina Trustees Agree that Administration Should Handle Communist Issue

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., June 13.—National attention was directed to the University of North Carolina here when it was revealed in the Senate that Hans Freistadt, part-time instructor and an admitted Communist, had been awarded a research fellowship by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. The resulting sensation was expected to produce a move in the university board of trustees to require non-Communist affidavits of all faculty and students. When the trustees met, however, they accepted a report of the committee of chancellors (who administer university affairs since Pres. Frank P. Graham resigned to go to the U.S. Senate) asking that the "Communist problem" be entrusted to the administration and faculty. It was stated that Freistadt, whose temporary appointment expired June 1, would not be re-employed. In his commencement address at the university, Senator Graham declared that the institution and the Atomic Energy Commission are both struggling with the basic problem of how to maintain America's security and at the same time its freedom.

1,500 Attend Duke Convocation

The second annual Christian convocation at Duke University, Durham, opened June 7 with an address by Dean Alfange, prominent New York attorney. Because of the failure of political leadership, declared Mr. Alfange, organized religion must assume responsibility for peace, political emancipation and democratic survival. The convocation, sponsored by Duke and the state council of churches, was attended by approximately 1,500 churchmen from North Carolina and adjoining states. Other prominent speakers on the four-day program were: Robert J. McCracken, Wilhelm Pauck, Edgar S. Brightman, Calvin B. Hoover and Owen Lattimore. The Carolina institute of international relations, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, is meeting at Greensboro this week. Among leaders are Devere Allen, Norman Thomas, Ernest Kalibala, West African member of the U. N. trusteeship council, and Wilfred Wellock, former British M. P. A training school for supply pastors will be held at Duke July 6-22. The regional conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation will be held Aug. 16-21 at Kings Mountain, with Muriel Lester as principal leader. The annual conference of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen will meet at the same place the following week.

South Carolina Faces Increasing Racial Tensions

Racial tension seems to be continuing in South Carolina. It is alleged that a 77-year-old Negro was recently abducted and beaten in Lexington county. The Negro press reports that when six unmasked white men invaded a Negro district with the apparent intent of molesting one of its residents, they were beaten and driven off. Maxie Collins, minister active in South Carolina Federated Forces, has revealed that rumors have arisen of the formation of an anti-Ku Klux vigilante committee composed of whites. Mr. Collins, well known liberal leader, deplored such resort to extra-legal means and urged action by the state to combat interracial violence. The federal circuit court unanimously upheld the ruling of District Judge Waties Waring that Negroes must be admitted to full participation in Democratic party affairs. The state board of education has charged that nearly 800 Negro teachers were guilty of dishonesty in rating examinations given in February. Opponents of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, who serves as chairman of the board, allege that the examinations were instituted in order to evade equalizing salaries by confining Negro teachers to lower ratings, and claim that the charges are politically motivated. The head of the South Carolina N.A.A.C.P. was recently abducted at Atlanta, Ga., but later released unharmed.

North Carolina Assured of Better Schools, Roads

Largely rural North Carolina sustained Gov. W. Kerr Scott in his program for more school buildings and improved secondary roads. Bond issues of $25 million for school construction and $200 million for paving roads from farm to school and market passed by a good majority in an election June 4. Coupled with large appropriations by the legislature, this means that in the next three years the state will spend for public construction several times what it has spent under any previous administration. A report of the North Carolina good health association shows that hospital facilities have doubled and the patient load increased by 15 times in the last 30 years. The state medical care commission is now in the midst of a five-year program to increase the number of hospital beds by 7,200. The report also shows a rapid trend toward ownership of hospitals by government agencies and semi-public non-profit associations.

And So Forth

Sponsored by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the state council of churches, Cameron Hall, secretary of the Federal Council of Churches' commission on the church and economic life, spoke to meetings at Lynchburg and Richmond, Va., and at Greensboro and Chapel Hill, N. C., the last week in May. The F.S.C. will hold two work camps this summer: one to begin construction at the interracial conference ground at Swannannoa owned by the fellowship, and one in industrial relations at St. Louis.

A suit on behalf of 60 Negro children against the Durham, N. C., city schools alleging inequality in school facilities for the two races has been filed in district federal court. Officers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People say that this is the beginning of a campaign to force the provision of equal facilities throughout the state.

HENRY G. RUARK.

Study Church in Secular Society

Central Body of World Council Meets in England—700 to Enter Work Camps in Stricken Cities

GENEVA, June 9.—Inauguration of a special study of Christian action in secular society is among the plans to be discussed by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches when it meets at Chichester, England, July 9-15, with the participation of more than 70 ecumenical leaders from five continents. This committee was set up by the Amsterdam Assembly of August 1948 to deal with general issues of ecumenical policy until the next Assembly meets in 1953. The committee is also to receive reports on "The Biblical Message to the Modern World" and "Evangelism in Modern Mass Society" prepared by commissions which will have met at Oxford from June 29 on. A joint meeting of executives and delegates of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council is to be held July 2-4 at Oxford. The executive committee of the Commission of the Churches for International Affairs will be in session July 2-5.

Bishop Neill Visits Rome

Stephen Neill, assistant (Anglican) bishop of Canterbury and a member of the World Council staff, made a private visit to Italy early in June. He took the opportunity to make personal contacts with some members of the Roman Catholic Church who have devoted special attention to ecumenical affairs. In particular he met members of the Unitas group in Rome.

Asks U. S. to Help Train Refugees

Informal consultations between Elfan Rees, director of the refugee division of the World Council, and Economic Cooperation Administration officials in Germany have resulted in a scheme to assist the future west German government to finance a rehabilitation and retraining scheme for refugees, under the European Recovery Program. The plan is being submitted to Paul Hoffmann, ECA chief. Other recommendations drafted by occupation experts for resettlement of refugees in expanding German industry and in sponsored agricultural enterprises, with the cooperation of such voluntary agencies as the German churches' Hilfswerk, have been recommended to the attention of the three Western military governors of Germany. These schemes, like openings for emigration by individual resettlement investigated by World Council representatives in South America, purpose to help the refugees help themselves.

D.P. Ships to Have Chaplains

By agreement with the International Refugee Organization, the refugee division of the World Council is preparing, in consultation with the heads of their respec-

tive churches, a list of D.P. priests and pastors who can serve as ships' chaplains with large numbers of fellow emigrants on long voyages to their future countries overseas. Roman Reinfelds, a Lutheran pastor from the Baltic littoral, recently working among D.P.'s in Austria, was designated ship's chaplain on board the Dundalk Bay, which is due to arrive in New Zealand late this month. Meanwhile, Mr. Rees, as director of the World Council's refugee division, has joined a special "working party" set up by the IRO in Geneva to study possible solutions to the future of the "hard core" of D.P.'s in Europe who, by reason of advanced age or other incapacity, are ineligible for emigration.

World Council Sets Up Youth Work Camps

Fifteen international youth camps have been arranged for this summer under the sponsorship of the World Council's youth department in countries ranging from Germany to Japan. In healthy surroundings, 700 young volunteers of both sexes and of the most varied denominations will have opportunity for ecumenical fellowship while engaged on practical construction work. Students and young workers drawn from different social environments, they are helping to build homes for homeless and refugee youth in Germany, a summer camp on the site of a former concentration camp at Ommen in Holland, permanent buildings for youth gatherings at Villach in Austria. Similar work is being undertaken at the Collège Cévenol, a high school operated on lines of liberal international fellowship at Le Chambon in France. A Christian boys' camp is being built by volunteers at Partaharju in Finland. Arrangements for many of these camps are being made by the Brethren Service Commission (U.S.A.) and the Congregational Christian Service Committee.

Aid Comes from New Zealand

The New Zealand minister of finance has approved the transfer of about $25,000 from the National Council of Churches in that dominion to Britain for use in reconstruction and interchurch aid work in Europe. New Zealand's National Council of Churches has already raised $22,500 for this purpose, and an appeal has been launched through Sunday schools and Bible classes to bring this sum up to the target. Interest in the reconstruction aspect of the ecumenical movement has been quickened by the recent visit to New Zealand of J. Hutchison Cockburn, formerly moderator of the Church of Scotland and director of the reconstruction department of the World Council of Churches.

BERNARD CAUSTON.

Catholics Report More Members In Mission Lands

Le Missioni Cattoliche, official publication of the central council of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, published in Rome, reports an increase over the past 15 years of 10 million Catholics in mission lands. In those mission fields there are 560 ecclesiastical divisions, with 261,895 full-time workers, 39,439 elementary schools, 743 secondary schools, 359 trade schools, 936 hospitals, 2,953 dispensaries and 2,046 orphanages.

May Was Meeting Time in Northeast

Annual Congregational, Methodist and Baptist Sessions in Northern New England Were Busy Ones

PORTLAND, ME., June 13.—May was the month of conferences for Congregationalists, Baptists and Methodists in northern New England. The 123rd annual meeting of the Congregational Christian conference of Maine, held at First Congregational Church, South Portland, began with a seminar on evangelism in which preaching, pastoral calling, Christian education and lay visitation were discussed and evaluated as methods by their exponents. Principal speakers were Moderator Helen Kenyon of the denomination's General Council, Ione Catton of its Missions Council, and Truman B. Douglass, executive vice-president of its Board of Home Missions. Miss Kenyon spoke as a lay moderator on the denomination's responsibility to the future. Miss Catton drew richly from her experiences with churches throughout the nation in telling the delegates what the larger fellowship of the churches is doing. Dr. Douglass outlined a "strategy of advance" for Congregationalists, pointing out the challenges offered to Protestantism where large populations are underchurched.

Table Resolution by Anti-Merger Group

On the final day of the session opponents of the Congregational Christian-Evangelical and Reformed merger presented a resolution to protect rights of local churches which they feared might be infringed upon. After 30 minutes of debate the resolution was tabled, the majority feeling that no further action on the merger is necessary at this time. The conference had voted in favor of the merger last year, but did not express itself as to whether it would become a part of the United Church of Christ if and when union is consummated. Resolutions in favor of Congressional action to admit more D.P.'s to this country and in favor of a $2,400 minimum salary for a full-time, fully qualified minister were adopted by the 350 delegates. The conference received with mixed feelings a report that benevolence giving of the churches is considerably above that of all previous years, but still short of the ambitious goal set at last year's annual meeting.

Vermont Congregationalists Give Place to Missions

A highlight of the program at the 154th meeting of the Vermont Congregational conference and domestic missionary society was a "town meeting" session on missions. Two hundred and fifty delegates attended the sessions, to which First and College Street churches in Burlington were joint hosts. They adopted a resolution commending the Vermont Plan of Action good will program, whereby Negro children from New York city are brought to Vermont homes for two-week stays. This plan, initiated by the late A. Ritchie Low, has proved most successful. A resolution which attempted to express the conference's mind in regard to Roman Catholic policies of rural evangelism and education in the state was defeated. Other resolutions adopted called upon American leadership to foster ideals of world community as opposed to strict nationalism in world affairs, expressed sympathy for Protestant leaders undergoing persecution in Bulgaria, urged stricter regulation of distribution and sale of liquor and salacious literature, and proposed a program of juvenile courts for Vermont. To aid a D.P. student who will be enrolled in a Vermont college, $500 was appropriated.

New Hampshire Baptist Women Hear Norwegian Churchman

The annual meeting of the woman's united Baptist mission society of New Hampshire, held at First Church, Franklin, culminated a long series of smaller meetings held earlier throughout the state. Trygvie H. Langmo of First Norwegian Baptist Church, Brooklyn, spoke at several of the association meetings and at the annual session. The remarks on world affairs in the light of the gospel by Mr. Langmo, who has served Baptist churches in Norway, were enthusiastically received. Another speaker at the annual meeting was Annis Ford, member of the Franklin church on furlough from her mission station in the Belgian Congo.

Baptists Urge Maintenance of Church-State Separation

The 216 delegates at the Vermont Baptist state convention in Burlington, like the Congregationalists of the state, passed resolutions supporting a juvenile court system for Vermont, called for admission of more D.P.'s to this country and urged members to receive them in their homes and communities, and commended the Vermont Plan of Action and the efforts of the Vermont citizens' temperance league to curb the liquor traffic. They went further, however, in adopting resolutions in favor of strict maintenance of separation of church and state particularly in regard to schools, and in favor of E. Stanley Jones' plan for federal union of Protestantism. The unified budget of the convention received $40,941 this year, the largest amount given by the group to the cause of missions in many years.

Methodists Close the Month Of Conferences

The conference attended by 600 Maine Methodists at Houlton May 26-29 wound up the month of Protestant gatherings. A highlight of the program was the presentation by the Orono Methodist Church's drama group of "The Brother," play adapted from the novel of the same name by Dorothy Clarke Wilson, wife of the pastor of the Orono church. Charles Parkin, conference chaplain and director of the drive to raise contributions for the ministerial pension fund, reported that he has collected cash and pledges amounting to $150,000 toward the conference's goal of $200,000. Resolutions urged admission of greater numbers of D.P.'s, supported a referendum to outlaw horse racing in Maine, called on Christians to take more active part in state and national politics, and reminded the denomination of its responsibility as a group that has always been the "friend of the workingman."

NATHANAEL M. GUPTILL.

Move to Legalize Bookies Defeated

California Legislature, However, Rejects Proposals for Liquor Control—Churches Aid D.P.'s

LOS ANGELES, June 14.—The California legislature, now in session, defeated the bill introduced by a Los Angeles member of the assembly to legalize off-track betting on horse races. Gambling supporters are now reported to be planning to introduce an initiative through petition of voters to have the measure placed on the ballot at the next election. Some 15 measures presented for the control or restriction of the liquor business were all defeated except one which restricted the hours for sale of liquor in package stores from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m.—a provision highly acceptable to the liquor trade.

Racing Season Extended Despite Local Protest

Moral forces of the communities near the Santa Anita racetrack were unsuccessful in their vigorous efforts to prevent extension of the annual racing period to 100 days in order to accommodate the Hollywood racing corporation, whose stadium was destroyed by fire this spring. The Pasadena chamber of commerce addressed a strong message to Gov. Earl Warren opposing the extension because of the serious injury to legitimate commercial interests and the lowering of public morale and safety. Its action was immediately seconded by a protest from the Pasadena council of churches, which said in its resolution on the matter: "Such a meet will not only disrupt our community life economically but will degrade it morally, as the annual Santa Anita meet always does. It will bring to our community the same undesirable class of people, and will be attended by an increase of crime." In a press interview Superior Judge Thurmond Clark confirmed the indictments of the chamber of commerce and the churches. These moral and public welfare considerations were, however, unable to overbalance the pull of the several hundred million dollars of revenue which the state stood to gain from extension of the meet. And the dire predictions of accidents through drunken driving and increase in community crime have been realized. It is being widely charged that this sacrifice of public interest for revenue is in line with the mounting pressure being exerted by the invasion of the forces of organized crime and gambling from the east.

Pasadena Churches Initiate D.P., Relief Projects

First Congregational Church, Pasadena, has adopted a displaced persons family of six from Hungary, and will be responsible for their care and support until they are established in home and employment. Other Pasadena churches are taking similar action to provide for refugee immigrants. Peter Jansen, minister of education at First Church, has been released by the congregation to serve this summer under Church World Service in areas of need in Europe. Robert Case, son of Harold C. Case, pastor of First Methodist Church, Pasadena, headed the group of four college students which accompanied the shipload of goats dispatched to Okinawa two months ago under sponsorship of the Church of the Brethren.

And So Forth

Daniel D. Williams, associate professor of theology in the University of Chicago's federated theological faculty, gave a series of lectures at the annual retreat sponsored last month at Balboa by southern California Congregational ministers.

Frank B. Fagerburg, pastor of First Baptist Church, is the new president of the Los Angeles federation of churches.

Rockwell H. Potter, president emeritus of Hartford Theological Seminary, preached in a number of churches on a recent speaking tour of the Los Angeles area.

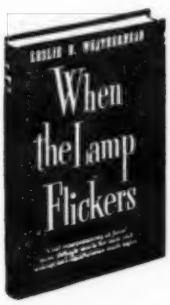
First Methodist Church, Pasadena, has introduced an "excursion to nowhere" as a means of promoting fellowship among its large membership. A train has been chartered to carry several hundred persons to a destination known only to the pastor and railroad officials for a day of sports and entertainment.

The re-election of Mayor Fletcher Bowron after a bitter political contest is generally regarded as a hopeful omen for the continuation of his vigorous 10-year fight for clean civic government and the repression, or at least the restraint, of the attempted invasion of the area by organized crime from the east.

Earl Cranston was installed May 19 as dean of the University of California's graduate school of religion. Taking part in the impressive ceremony were Rabbi Magnin of Wilshire Temple and E. C. Farnum, director of the Los Angeles federation of churches. Dean Cranston's inaugural address was on "The Future of Theological Education." GEORGE R. GROSE.

When the Lamp Flickers

by **LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD**



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ABINGDON COKESBURY

Hold Ecumenical Service in Abbey

On Whitmonday, British and Overseas Churches, Established and Free, Join in London Observance

LONDON, June 9.—Such a service as that in Westminster Abbey on Whitmonday would have been inconceivable not so many years ago. Preceding the great ecumenical service held on that day, representatives of many Christian churches in Britain and overseas entered the abbey in an impressive procession. The established and free churches of Britain led the way, followed by representatives of Protestant churches in Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Latvia, Norway, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland. Then came representatives of the Orthodox and other Eastern churches. The sermon was preached by Oliver S. Tomkins, an associate general secretary of the World Council of Churches. The Old Testament lesson was read by Dr. Carruthers of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; the New Testament lesson (in Dutch), by R. H. Apeldoorn, pastor of the Netherlands Church in London.

Leicester Church Council 'Invades' Industry

The Midlands city of Leicester has a vigorous council of churches. Recently it launched a "Christian invasion" of the town's industrial stronghold. First, it secured the good will of local industrialists on the one hand and of the trade unions on the other. Then it brought together in a school of Christian leadership 78 men and 50 women employees of local factories and workshops. The school met for five afternoons during working hours. In the first session, various technical problems were discussed in the light of Christian ethics. Subsequent sessions brought forward discussions on such topics as the doctrine of man and the doctrine of God and the fulfillment of man's personality. Organizers of the drive report that at the beginning of the week the "sales resistance" of the workers was about as high as it could possibly be, but that at the end of the week they had become "dangerously enthusiastic." Among the workers who attended the session were shop stewards, foremen, union officials and others holding responsible positions in the plants.

How Qualify to Teach the Scripture in Schools?

In the national schools of this country a definite place in the curriculum is assigned to the teaching of Scripture. Lately the question has been raised as to how a teacher who is not a professing Christian can be expected to teach Scripture and not make it either a mockery or a dead subject. Out of this has arisen a further question: How much does one have to believe in order to be accepted as a Christian? In a wise and temperate letter to the London *Times*, the well known dean of St. Paul's, W. R. Matthews, remarks that sometimes one who is still seeking more light is a better teacher of growing and questioning minds than one who has ceased to inquire. Fortunately, there seems to be no disposition so far among church authorities to turn this discussion from an inquiry into a witch hunt.

Labor Party's Expulsion of Members Raises Questions

The liveliest matter before the Labor party's conference at the seaside resort of Blackpool during Whitweek was undoubtedly its expulsion from the ranks of Mr. Solley and Mr. Zilliacus, who have consistently opposed party policy in major affairs. Although the executive's action was endorsed by over 4 million votes, there were fiery speeches of protest from a minority, and some accusations of suppression of free speech. The party executive contends that the two men, as members of Parliament at any rate until the next election, will have just as much opportunity to voice their criticism as before, but that they should not be allowed to express it "under the umbrella of the Labor party." If they stand for election next year, they will have to do so as independents. Everyone realizes that the question is no new one. Every organization, including the Christian church, has had to face it throughout the ages. When does disagreement become disloyalty? At what point should one sever one's connection, or have it severed? Britons remember that Sir Stafford Cripps, now the greatly respected chancellor of the exchequer, himself went into the wilderness for a period, and they agree that expulsion need not by any means be the end of a political career.

And So Forth

Among the King's Birthday honors were a "Member of the British Empire" awarded to an 88-year-old woman in recognition of 71 years' voluntary service in a hospital, and a "British Empire Medal" to another woman who has not missed a day's work in 12 years of voluntary aid in hard-pressed households.

Mr. Silkin, minister of town and country planning, recently intervened to save a glorious Welsh mountain landscape threatened by large-scale quarryings.

An unexpectedly glowing Whitmonday brought some surprising sights to holiday-makers in London. In the open spaces of Hyde park, sheepdog trials were being held, and amazed passers-by stopped to see the wise collies, controlled by their masters' whistles, driving the sheep across a half-mile course before steering selected couples into compounds. In Regent's park, Londoners could watch the magnificent parade of sturdy cart horses, sleek skinned and gaily decorated with ribbons and brasses.

JOYCE REASON.

CARE Offers 'Thrift' Parcel for Europe

CARE, non-profit agency for European relief, has added a $5.50 "thrift" food parcel weighing about 8 pounds to the list of packages available to those wishing to send material to specific persons abroad. Still available is the 22½-pound $10 food parcel, which has recently been increased in content value. Cost of the 10-pound lard package has been reduced from $4.75 to $4.00. Orders may be sent to CARE headquarters, 20 Broad St., New York 4, or to regional CARE offices.

Prepare Summer Church Teachers

Leadership Series Offered by New York Protestant Council Is Attended by 600 Men and Women

NEW YORK, June 15.—Some 600 summer church school teachers from Greater New York, New York state, New Jersey and Connecticut are registered for the leadership training program being sponsored through June by the Protestant council of New York city. Mrs. Imogene M. McPherson, director of the council's children's work, is in charge of the program. All-day sessions are being held on three Saturdays at Friends Seminary, while special training sessions are being offered for work camp students. Experimental observation schools in four key areas—Harlem, Williamsburgh, the Bronx and Bedford-Stuyvesant—give the students opportunity to observe practical teaching techniques.

N.L.C. to Assume Control Of German Missions

Principles have been agreed upon whereby the National Lutheran Council will assume control of German mission properties in Tanganyika, British East Africa. Word of this development was cabled here last week by Fredrik A. Schiotz, executive secretary of the council's commission on younger churches and orphaned missions, who is on a 15-week trip to South Africa, Tanganyika, Germany and England. For some time the council has been carrying on negotiations on the matter with the British colonial office and the provincial government of Tanganyika. As a result of Dr. Schiotz' conferences with government officials in the colony, a law will be drafted to transfer the missions to the N.L.C., except for certain properties which the government wants to expropriate for the Africans or itself. All such properties will be paid for.

Shafer Reports Need for More Missions in Japan

"While every indication points to Japan as the most promising country for Christian work, the situation demands not only greater missionary zeal, but a vastly increased missionary staff," said Luman J. Shafer as he left last week to spend six months assisting the Church of Christ in Japan to develop a program aimed to take full advantage of the present opportunity for evangelism. He goes under the auspices of the Interboard Committee for Christian Work in Japan. Mrs. Shafer will assist her husband in his work with church leaders, educators and government officials.

Protestant Council Nears Financial Goal

Robert G. Fuller, chairman of the 1949 fund campaign of the New York Protestant council, has announced that nearly $200,000 of the drive's $255,000 goal has been raised by 1,000 volunteers. "I would caution against overoptimism, however," Mr. Fuller said. "The final $55,000 is all-important if the council is to maintain its many-sided and varied activities." He expressed special appreciation for the gen-

erous contributions made by Negro churches, as well as for those from non-Protestant organizations and individuals. Of the 8,561 contributors, more than 3,000 had never before contributed directly to the council.

'Palais Postal' Works For Peace

Youth of All Nations, which has its headquarters here, is inviting young people in all countries to take part in a "Palais Postal" to air their views on peaceful relations with Germany's youth. Says Clara Leiser, founder of the organization: "Our files bear testimony to how much peace-mindedness, and action to support it, can be achieved through a carefully thought-out system of letter exchanges whereby customs, experiences, beliefs are really shared, differences thrashed out and prejudices leveled." "Palais Postal's" office is at 16 St. Luke's Place. In addition to stimulating individual letter friendships among youth of all races, religious beliefs and nations, this global idea-exchange conducts a continuing letter forum. Boys and girls and young adults everywhere are being asked to write in their answers to specific questions on the "German problem." "The attitudes of other countries' youth toward the youth of Germany four years after the end of the war, and how they believe they can manage to get along peacefully when they are older, is at least as important as economic and military agreements arranged by government officials," says Miss Leiser.

Lutherans to Raise $6 Million

United Lutheran plans for raising $6 million during 1950 were announced here recently by Franklin Clark Fry, president of the denomination. Rees Edgar Tulloss, who will retire this spring as president of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, has been named to direct the campaign, which will extend over the first four months of the year. Most of the funds obtained will be used for new buildings; $4,500,000 will go to the 14 Lutheran colleges and $900,000 to 10 seminaries in the U.S. and Canada. The rest will be allotted to a fund for special educational services.

And So Forth

Erik W. Modean, secretary of the National Lutheran Council's news bureau and president of the National Religious Publicity Council, has been elected to the executive committee of the newly organized Religious News Writers' Association, a group which aims to advance the professional standards of religious journalism.

In a ceremony June 1 at Salem Methodist Church, Harlem, the interdenominational ministers' meeting of Greater New York and vicinity presented a scroll of merit to Branch Rickey, president of the Brooklyn Dodgers baseball club.

The fourth annual meeting of the Council of United Bible Societies, representing 25 national Bible organizations in all parts of the world, was held at American Bible Society headquarters last week. The 11-day session was the council's first meeting to be held in the U.S. since its formation in England in 1946.

The 400th anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer was widely commemorated on Whitsunday (June 5) in Protestant Episcopal churches of the city. The

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observances included a celebration of holy communion as prescribed in the original edition of the prayer book.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Memorial Will Aid Arab Home for the Blind

Gifts given as memorials to the late Mrs. Edwin Moll, wife of the representative in Palestine for the U.S.A. Committee for the Lutheran World Federation, will be used to re-establish the Arab Lutheran Home for the Blind in Jerusalem. Mrs. Moll died April 6.

Charles Clayton Morrison writes:*

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Scottish Church To Restudy War

Dissatisfaction with Amsterdam Views Brings Call for Reconsideration—Plan a Remarriage Court

EDINBURGH, June 10.—The 1949 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met as usual in Edinburgh, in the assembly hall which is built on the steep slope known as "the mound" between High and Princes streets. Entering the hall from historic High street, you observe with some surprise that you are on a level with the top of the public back gallery. Far below and facing you are the moderatorial chair and the throne. The moderator sits in court dress of knee breeches and flowing white ruffles. In front of him are arrayed the fully robed clerks and the wigged procurator or legal adviser. Behind him and technically outside the Assembly is seated the lord high commissioner. This year he is the Duke of Gloucester, brother to the king. The king's wife is a daughter of the great Scottish border house of Buccleach. She is beloved of her kinsmen, as the prolonged and enthusiastic applause which greeted the moderator's first reference to her clearly testified.

Thus met the Assembly of the only church in the world that is both national and free. Presbyterian in government, democratic in constitution and spirit, identified with the nation's history, the Church of Scotland is also the church of the people, from peer to plowman. Its autonomy, its complete freedom of self-government in doctrine, legislation and discipline, is not granted by the state. It is formulated by the church and acknowledged as an inalienable right by the state—a very different thing.

Church and Housing

With more than half the 5 million people in the Scottish nation to be rehoused within 15 years, this Assembly heard John White ask for a million pounds sterling for building churches to follow the people into the new residence areas which are springing up. The 82-year-old director of church extension is intellectually more vigorous than most men half his age. He informed the Assembly that over 2,000 ministers and as many parish churches are being left behind in the new housing developments, and that the church must follow its people. More than half the Scottish population will soon be living in new areas. The church will not be left behind if this eagle-eyed church leader, who is a power in the land, has his way.

J. Pitt Watson's last address as convener of the Assembly's church and nation committee discussed what should be the policy of Christendom in the face of the menace that casts its lengthening shadow across the world. We are embarrassed, he said, with two fears. We do not want to identify the church with any existing political order and we fear to align reformed Christianity with Romanism. He said he would regard Roman pronouncements against communism as more impressive if he saw evidence of Rome's readiness to condemn with like vigor such violations of liberty, and not least religious liberty, as are to be seen in Spain. These two fears, he thinks, are apt to reduce us to impotence. So we are called to penitence, but the end of true penitence is action, not paralysis. He said the atom bomb tore the insides out of men's bodies, but modern totalitarianism tears the insides from their souls, so that they deny the things they have held most sacred all their lives and acclaim as new-found light what they once rightly knew to be unmitigated darkness.

Restudy 'Just' War

The General Assembly appointed a commission to study the question of the "just war." This will require a critical examination of the position of the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council, which Dr. Pitt Watson characterized as logically untenable and morally ambiguous. Amsterdam's ingenious *via media,* he held, slips along between the traditional defense of the "just war" and the path of the pacifist, but leads nowhere. He described it as possessing most of the undesirable features of both the razor edge and the cul-de-sac. It was his opinion that we have to face the solemn fact that war today, however just in itself, almost inevitably involves the use of unjust means in its prosecution, and that in this situation the church stands in need of fresh guidance, which the commission is requested to provide.

To Set Up Remarriage Court

The General Assembly sent to the presbyteries for action a series of recommendations concerning remarriage of divorced persons. A committee of the Assembly which had been considering the matter of remarriage made a proposal which, if approved by the presbyteries, will cause the Assembly to set up a central judicial board on marriage which will have authority to decide whether remarriage in the case of the "innocent party" to a divorce is permissible. A minister who has been asked to marry such persons is required to transmit to the central panel all the facts in the case, together with his judgment. The panel's decision will be final.

Where the panel decides that remarriage by a minister is permissible, the party or parties who have been divorced will have to sign a declaration expressing their adherence to the church's doctrine of marriage and their repentance. Where, in the opinion of the panel, signature of the part referring to penitence would be inappropriate, only the first part need be signed. In cases where a minister, for conscientious reasons, declines to perform such a marriage, the panel may get the presbytery to make arrangements for another minister to officiate. Any minister who officiates at the marriage of a person who has been divorced without securing the consent of the panel will automatically be subject to discipline.

INNES LOGAN.

Church School Enrollment In U.S. Increases

According to a recent announcement by Roy G. Ross, general secretary of the International Council of Religious Education, the number of church school pupils in the continental United States is 29,745,580. This represents an increase of more than 5 million for the 1945-48 period, and re-

verses a downward trend which had continued for a number of years.

Churches in World Council Total 155

With the addition of four new church groups, membership in the World Council of Churches now totals 155. Latest to join are the Baptist Union of Denmark and three "younger churches": the Dayak Evangelical Church in Borneo, the Toradja Church of the Central Celebes and the United Church of Christ in the Philippines.

A Philippine Jubilee

Protestantism Celebrates 50 Years of Successful Work in Islands

MANILA, June 1.—The Evangelical churches in the Philippines are joining this year to celebrate the golden jubilee of Protestantism in the islands. Closing ceremonies will be held next January, when it is planned to bring in prominent ecumenical leaders to emphasize the world aspect of Christianity and the missionary responsibilities of the Philippine churches. In commemoration of the anniversary, the *Manila Times,* with a circulation of over 100,000, has just issued a special supplement. The *Manila Bulletin,* in featuring the event, pointed out that 400 Evangelical church buildings in the islands will have been rebuilt or restored by the end of 1949. This is approximately one-fourth of the total number of Protestant churches in use at the beginning of the war.

Remarkable Progress In Half-Century

These 50 years have seen Protestantism gain a larger proportion of the population in the Philippines than in any other country of the Far East. Today 1 in 35 is a member of the Protestant community; in other words, approximately 500,000 persons are either baptized Protestants or members of Protestant households. The Methodist Church and the United Church of Christ (a union of several denominations) have about 100,000 members each, the Baptists 25,000. The Protestant Episcopal Church has developed an important work among the tribes in northern Luzon. The churches' contribution to education may be observed in their more than 50 schools with a combined enrollment of 17,000 students. The schools range from Silliman University, one of the two outstanding universities in the islands, to elementary schools and vocational high schools. Union Theological Seminary in Manila had over 170 students enrolled during the term just ended; Silliman University's theological seminary had more than 50; the newly established Episcopal Seminary, 17. Applicants for seminary training are constantly increasing in number.

Students Participate in Malaria Control

Twenty-four students on May 23 completed six weeks' work on a malaria control project on Dilliman campus at the University of the Philippines. The youth department of the Federation of Christian Churches recruited the students, paid their living expenses and organized the activities; the U. S. public health service trained them and supervised their work. Another work camp, directed by "Flying Parson Spottswood," a Methodist missionary, attracted nationwide attention when Manila papers erroneously reported that Mr. Spottswood's plane had disappeared.

Filipinos Fear End of Japanese Reparations

The local press is giving considerable publicity to the American declarations that no additional reparations may be expected from Japan. The Filipinos, who have before them still the ghastly evidences of the war's destructiveness, greatly fear the military revival of an economically strong Japan. But in criticizing America's policy they are not realistic in regard to the need to make Japan self-sufficient, nor have they explained why so much of the machinery obtained in previous shipments from Japan is now well into its second year of gathering rust in Manila's open storage yards.

And So Forth

The Federation of Christian Churches has named as general secretary Juan Nabong, prominent Manila attorney and active Methodist layman who has been serving as chairman of the federation's executive committee. The post of general secretary had been vacant for a year, the previous incumbent, Cipriano Navarro, having been made a bishop. Hugh H. Bous-

How the "class system" of democracy affects America's youth

ELMTOWN'S YOUTH

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man, general evangelist of the United Church of Christ, becomes associate general secretary.

The Episcopal Trinity Church and parish house, now being erected in the shadow of Manila's ruined cathedral, will be ready for occupancy June 12, according to the rector, A. Ervine Swift. A large site has been purchased in Quezon City for the Episcopal Theological Seminary, now housed in temporary buildings, and for the new cathedral, yet to be built.

Reconstruction of the Y.M.C.A. plant here is now under way, and activities will shortly be resumed in one of the rebuilt structures. Since the war, office work and activities have been carried on in Quonset huts. WINBURN T. THOMAS.

The Church Roll

John R. Mott has returned from his tour of the Far East. In an interview as he passed through Chicago, he declared that in Japan "the doors are wide open to the gospel message." The 84-year-old mission leader added that he would rather live through the next 10 years than any other period he has known.

Two members of the faculty of New College, Edinburgh, will teach courses at the 20th annual summer conference for ministers to be held at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, July 25-29. They are James S. Stewart and William Roxburgh Forrester.

Because of illness, Bishop Eivind Berggrav, primate of the Church of Norway, has canceled his projected visit to the U. S. this summer. Bishop Berggrav, whose wife died in April, was to have addressed a number of Lutheran gatherings and presided at the meeting of the Council of United Bible Societies, of which he is president.

With her appointment as Jesup professor of English Bible at Union Theological Seminary, New York city, Mary Ely (Mrs. Eugene W.) Lyman becomes the first woman to occupy a chair on the school's faculty and one of the first women to hold a full professorship in any American theological school. Formerly a professor at Vassar College, Dr. Lyman has recently been dean of Sweet Briar College in Virginia.

Francis W. McPeek of Chicago, secretary of the Congregational Christian Council for Social Action's industrial relations committee, has been named chairman for religion of the National Religion and Labor Foundation. The foundation's chairman for labor is John G. Ramsey.

In a recent letter to Paul C. Empie, executive director of the National Lutheran Council, Bishop Fedor Ruppeldt of Bratislava expressed the "profound appreciation" of Czechoslovakian Lutherans for the reappointment of J. Igor Bella to a second two-year term as representative in Czechoslovakia of the U.S.A. Committee for the Lutheran World Federation.

Joseph Krenek, head of the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren (presbyterian), largest non-Roman religious group in Czechoslovakia, died suddenly in mid-June at the age of 64. Dr. Krenek, who was also president of the National Council of Churches in Czechoslovakia and of the Czechoslovak Bible Society, had been a leading figure in the religious life of the country since he was elected moderator of his church in 1939.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Bride of Vengeance (Par.) *Drama* set in Italy of the Borgias, with Lucretia and Cesare plotting to destroy Ferrara through her marriage with the state's prince. But she falls in love with him, helps him repel her brother's attack. Splendidly set and costumed, but its people are *automatons who bring little insight to their roles,* make of the intrigues and ambitions simply romantic exercise. M

Edward My Son (MGM) Ian Hunter, Mervyn Johns, Deborah Kerr, Spencer Tracy. *Drama* from stage play about British father who ruthlessly ruins everyone in his business and personal life to provide fabulous advantages for his only son, who turns out as hopeless a failure as one would expect. In the end, the father stands alone, still uncognizant of life's real values, on the ruins. A *convincing treatise* on the immorality of overindulgence and selfish aggrandizement, soberly, conscientiously performed. M,Y

The Green Promise (RKO) *Drama.* Stubbornly resisting new ideas, widowed father makes life on marginal farm discouraging for his four children. But a little romance, some fortuitous circumstances and the intercession of county agent and neighboring 4-H Club leaders conspire to change the picture. Rather stilted and contrived, but *refreshing* in its simplicity, its unglamorized, noncondescending picture of ordinary farm life, particularly the relations of children to animals and 4-H Club doings. M,Y,C

Monsieur Vincent (French; English titles) Pierre Fresnay. *Drama* depicting the struggle of peasant-born priest, pioneer social reformer, to arouse complacent 17th century France to the suffering of its masses, to initiate singlehanded such innovations as free hospitals, shelters, orphanages and homes for the aged. Recipient of many prizes, this biographical film is convincing, restrained, *celebrating impressively the virtues* of courage, compassion, righteous indignation at all that degrades personality. Done entirely on the human plane, with no intimations of the priest's later canonization. M,Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Adventure in Baltimore, Down to the Sea in Ships, Little Women, Louisiana Story, Melody Time, Nanook of the North, The Secret Land, So Dear to My Heart, The Stratton Story, The Wizard of Oz.

For Mature Audience: The Barkleys of Broadway, Command Decision, City Across the River, Day of Wrath, Hamlet, Home of the Brave, Joan of Arc, Johnny Belinda, A Letter to Three Wives, Mr. Belvedere Goes to College, Mr. Perrin and Mr. Traill, Paisan, Quartet, Red River, The Red Shoes, The Set-Up, The Snake Pit, The Treasure of the Sierra Madre, Undercover Man, The Window. 6-29-49

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